1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

183 The Comanche populace greatly enjoyed the spectacle of wife-stealing.
684 The culture enhanced the procedure by providing for group cooperation in the absconding act. It is clearly discernible in this, that though the Comanches "believed" arranged marriages between an older man and younger woman were the best, their sympathies were with the young couple who tried to get together in spite of the formal pattern. Absconding took place when war parties were leaving the camp. The would-be absconder made himself a member of the raiding group and arranged for the woman to join him in the group at the first-night rendezvous. So the couple rode off on the foray with the gang of warriors.

● 171 Absconding with a war party is apparently unique among the Comanches, their own invention. The practice did not exist among the Shoshoneans from whom the Comanches stem. Among the Cheyennes such conduct was absolutely forbidden.[2]

PROCEDURE IN ADULTERY AND WIFE ABSCONDING

684 626 A Comanche male who had suffered a legal wrong was under social obligation to take action against the offender. For a man not to do so was not looked upon as an act of social grace; indeed, such behavior was a social disgrace. A man so acting was stamped not as magnanimous, but as lily-livered. Adultery and taking another's wife were direct attacks upon the prestige of the wife's husband. Both acts were unmistakable challenges which could not be ignored by the man who would maintain enough face to make life livable.

Naturally, the aggrieved party was not always inclined to act, nor was the reason always cowardice. If the wrong were not made public, it is obvious that public opinion could not drive a man to institute prosecution. Ridicule was the weapon used by society to cause a man to proceed after the cause for action had become public.

This is clearly brought out in the account of an adulterous youth as told by That's It.

Case 4. Adultery: Husband Slays Boy's Pony; Also That of Boy's Grandfather
Informant: That's It

"An old man had a handsome grandson. Being very proud of the boy, the old man liked to boast of him in public.

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[2] An enterprising warrior tried it once. The leader of the party immediately convened his followers in council to determine the action to be followed. The man and the woman were sent back to camp, but the warriors all promised gifts to be given to the aggrieved husband. On their return from the raid the promises were handsomely fulfilled. But they also effected a formulation of the rule that no man should ever take the wife of another on a raiding party. No subsequent violations of the rule ever occurred. Llewellyn and Hoebel, *op. cit.*

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The institutionalized champion we see as a purely social device. None of the ordinary inducements used to lead a person to assume a difficult obligation or responsibility were operative for him. Unlike kin or friends, he received no material compensation for his pains. This is borne out both by the word of the informants and by the evidence of the cases. Nor did the principle of reciprocity of services operate for him. Men chosen to act as champion were always warriors of great renown. They could look to themselves; they had no need to ask for return of favors. It was a sense of *noblesse oblige* and self-esteem which forced the champion into the legal lists on behalf of weaker persons to whom he had no personal ties. A war leader who refused to accept the request for aid in prosecution was to be deemed unworthy of his rank, for it was imputed that he feared the defendant. No war leader could admit fear. The institutional capitalization of these factors for the legal protection of the weak is an amazing piece of social engineering.[16]

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[16] One has only to contrast the Roman *patronus* and early medieval infeudation of free land. Those "muscle men" exacted pay for protection as does a modern gangster. No matter that it was not with money. For favorable comparison to the Comanche consider the Ifugao *monkalun*, or Icelandic *lawman*.

Each of these functionaries was reponsible to both parties in dispute, though the *monkalun* was evoked by the plaintiff. He (the *monkalun*) was at most a distant relative to the litigants. He was a *kadangyang* (man of wealth belonging to the first rank of society) and a man with a head-hunting reputation, as well as a successful settler of disputes. His method was suasion, threat, wheedling, scolding, according to the arts of fine diplomacy. He worked between the disputants (they keeping rigidly from each other's sight) until he could bring them to stand on a plank of settlement acceptable to both. For his pains he received payment in pigs or other commodity from the plaintiff. This was compensation for his efforts, but as Barton tells us, the main drive which spurred him to work for a peaceful settlement was the desire to build his reputation as a mediator. As in Comanche society the true reward was prestige. The *monkalun*, like the Comanche intermediary, was ready to fall back on force if need be. But he did not stand so ready with knife in hand. When he felt that he had exhausted his ability to bring the parties to a settlement, he declared a truce of a month's duration. Whichever party broke the truce by an act of violence had the *monkalun* and his family to reckon with in addition to his adversary. Thus the *monkalun* fell on either side if process degenerated to force, while the Comanche mediator always stood by his protege. R. F. Barton, *Ifugao Law*, (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 15, 1919), pp. 97 ff.

The Icelandic *lawman* presents a similar comparison. A plaintiff lodged suit by airing his grievance before all men on the Hill of Laws at the Thing, or in-gathering of citizens. The attempt was made to bring both parties to agree to accept whatever judgment might be given by a selected *lawman* or a council of his ilk. The alternative (legally) was wager of battle on the *Isle*. Outside of these legal paths were strife and murder. The *lawmen* derived honor and prestige for their efforts and seem also to have been feed in a modest way.

("After that men went away, and all thought things looked like the greatest tangle . . .

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

In action the champion was not an arbitrator. It was not his purpose to serve as a go-between. He went to demand damages. The bare fact is that he confronted the defendant as a "tough guy" who could take as well as give it. He was ready, if need be, to close the matter, not with damage settlements, but with physical combat. 627 x 624 554

It is in the champion that we can see most clearly the social policy of balancing the opposing forces so as to clear the way for a bargain settlement. This phase of the Comanche legal system is therefore to be viewed as a not so badly balanced mechanism, which operated without the organization of government. Making certain that action was taken when an offense was made publicly known, it made possible a sort of justice by assuring that the guilty and the wronged parties were placed on a bargaining level.

There were no officials in the picture. The peace chief could not act in damage suits, because he had no social authority to do so. As an old and gentle man he lacked the physical prowess to enter an affair in a personal capacity. The champions who participated in actions, because they were the bravest men, were also war chiefs. But the role of champion which they played was a function of their bravery, not of their rank as a chief.

It is possible that if the evolution of Comanche society had continued under aboriginal conditions, the war chief would have taken on the police functions for the society, and have become, thereby, the administrator of justice.

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but Hall went to Thorgier, the priest of Lightwater, who was the old Speaker of the Law, and gave him three marks of silver to utter what the law should be." . . . "This was no bribe, but his lawful fee.") 171 ●

But Eyolf Bolverk's son was sued to be condemned to lesser outlawry for having received a gold armlet to press Flosi's defense before the Althing. Flosi was given the same sentence for giving the trinket as an inducement. G. W. Dasant, *The Story of Burnt Njal* (A translation from the Icelandic Njal Sagen, New York, 1911), pp. 184 and 283.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

In a variant of this legend given by Eagle Tail Feather the plot structure is identical, but the scene is laid in an Arapaho camp where "the Arapaho medicine man, who was hated by his people, lived alone with his wife to the east of the camp." In the case of the Cheyenne as presented in the version given above we have clearly a reading of Comanche attitudes into the case as Cheyenne attributes. The Cheyennes, so far as field study could determine it, did not possess the sorcery complex.

To sum up sorcery as a crime: Expressed attitudes and the instances cited indicate that sorcery was a socially disruptive power, looked upon with social disapproval. Isolated instances of sorcery were handled as offenses against individuals, though there was no single established social machinery for the need. The diffuse sanctions intrinsic in all social relations were always pressing upon the person who used his medicine powers for bad ends. Such a person was dangerous and social intercourse was withdrawn, eventually leading to overt ostracism and a kind of imposed segregation of the pariah on the edge of the camp. (This segregation seems to have been self-assumed in that there does not appear to be any evidence that the sorcerer was told by anyone that he had better move out. We take it that he was simply frozen out.) Some possessors of medicine powers were compelled by that very power to use it on other people to protect themselves from the ravages of that power. Such excessive and indiscriminate use of power became a social menace not to be tolerated and the result was on occasion a deliberate formation of a social policy to meet the situation. People decided that such a person must die and then laid out a plan as to how the execution could be effected. This was done through the medium of a seemingly dispassionate execution through delegates.

The scarcity of cases of this sort leads to two alternative conclusions: either (a), there was not much use of sorcery attributed cumulatively to individuals; or (b), the accumulated irritation against the users of black magic did not often reach the point where it precipitated direct action on the part of the band. This would reflect either the lack of geared machinery for moving society against public offenders or that the Comanche failed to get obsessive about sorcerers.[2]

INDIVIDUAL ACTION DURING THE COMMUNAL HUNT

In approaching consideration of the rules of the communal buffalo hunt, we might look with expectancy towards something more definite. For it is at this point that the tendency to evolve a definite political expression of

[2] Professor Ruth Benedict observes, "Sorcery is a fear-projection, and the Comanches were not ridden by fear."

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

absence. The Comanches knew the conditional curse for adultery and sorcery cases, and also had ordeal. They made no legal use of the latter; the former was not extended into general legal practice. This is more notable than the *absence* of either procedure. Nothing could more interestingly evidence the inertia in the way of diffusion or further adaptation of institutions *within* a single culture.

Papítsɔin may be best called a joking ordeal. In the presence of others a joker (who could be anybody so long as his relationship to the butt of the joke did not demand avoidance) addressed another person of either sex. In an off-hand manner the remark would be dropped, "Well, and so I hear you have been having intercourse with So-and-so."

The usual reaction was indignant denial. If so, the joker picked up a bit of dirt between the fore-fingers and sprinkled it on the hair of his victim. This done, were the victim guilty of the sex conduct charged, the loss of all hair was supposed to result, and the victim would appear ridiculous in the eyes of all people. Or even more terrifying, if the jokester placed the dirt upon the tongue of the victim, guilt would be proved in loss of speech.

This is a practice which lives today and causes much mirth for the onlookers and terror for the party accused. In the summer of 1933 Skinny And Wrinkled told with great gusto how he had seen a woman running down the main streets of Lawton, Oklahoma, speeding as though pursued by the Holy Terror, which was in fact no more than a laughing young Indian with a pinch of dust between his fingers.

Non-submission to the test proves guilt even as does submission and the occurrence of the unfortunate consequences. This is ordeal in all its aspects of a supernatural test save the solemn setting and the presence of a dispute of interest-importance to the disputants. One would expect that in the event the victim of the joke were a married woman, and found guilty, her husband would perforce institute proceedings against the adulterer. Nevertheless, the assurance of informants is that it was never used seriously, a statement which is substantiated by the complete absence of any ordeal practices in the case histories of disputes which were collected.[11]

OATH

In the Buffalo Tongue Ceremony,[12] a very definite immunity from legal consequences for an unfaithful wife was observed. After a big hunt the

[11] The joking ordeal was unknown to the Shoshone. Its counterpart was found among the Cheyennes. This indicates a late acquisition for the Comanches.

[12] This ceremony is lifted from the sun-dance complex of other tribes. Its rarity among the Comanches is attested by the fact that no mention of its practice was made by informants used by the laboratory group. Dr. Mirsky recorded it independently.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

CONCLUSION

In treating of the historical background of the Comanche tribe the evidence for a recent Shoshonean derivation of the Comanches has been indicated. In the years since the time of the separation from other Shoshoneans, Comanche culture had undergone adaptive modifications to such an extent that Clark Wissler had dubbed the Comanches a "typical Plains Indian tribe."[1] If one views only the material culture of the tribe, this is true, for in their buffalo economy and nomadic life with the use of the horse for transportation, the Comanches were as any other Plains tribe. In their basic militarism they were conspicuously Plains, though they had not gone far enough to adopt a well-developed system of military societies (in which they are decidedly non-typical). Loose political organization is typical of the Plains area; yet the Comanches were more unpolitical than most. In religion the Comanches shared only to a very slight degree the colorful group ceremonialism of the Plains tribes, while the individual guardian spirit complex is as fully Shoshonean as it is Plains. It is not understatement to say that the Comanches represented Plains culture in its rudest form and that where it was most rude it was most Shoshonean.

Something of the historical trend of Comanche culture may be revealed by reference to the Shoshone base from which nineteenth century Comanche society had grown. This will be attempted for Shoshone-Comanche politico-legal practices.

Without expecting an absolute correlation of Comanche history to a linear trend, an approximation of the levels of Comanche development can be reasonably derived from the comparative presentation of the pertinent facts from the Western Shoshone, the Northern Shoshone, the Wind River Shoshone and the Comanche. Taken in order, the geographical spacing of the peoples mentioned is from the heart of the Basin-Plateau area towards and into the Plains. Culturally, the movement is from archaic Shoshone (Western) to Shoshone modified by Plains influence (Northern) to Plains with heavy Shoshone vestiges (Wind River) to "typical" Plains with submerged Shoshone vestiges (Comanche). In the same direction the trend has been specifically from small particularistic local groups founded on the bilateral family principle over to large, permanently organized bands within which bilateral family organization is present but unimportant; from an absence of "chiefs" over to institutionalized band peace chiefs. In military activity with all its implications the trend was from complete unwarlikeness over to exuberant militarism. In law the movement is seen to have

[1] Clark Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains* (New York, 1927), p. 13.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

178 181 171 been from a neutral condition without institutionalized legal forms to the establishment of such mechanisms as have been described for the Comanche. Comanche culture underwent dynamic development in a relatively short span of time, developing political and legal institutions of functional importance where scarcely any had existed before.

A tabular synopsis of the facts will make this clear.[2] See pp. 131–134.

The causal factor of greatest importance in the metamorphosis of the eastern Shoshone groups was the adaptation of social life to the horse complex. This provided a widened hunting range and the procurement of buffalo, with the result that larger aggregations of population could be supported in integrated units. The result was the band. Raids and military pressure from the plains provided example and defensive motivation for the simulation of the Plains war complex. Only the Comanches wholly succeeded in this. The Basin Shoshone suffered a defeatist psychology; they are sincerely grateful to the *Pax Americana*. To them personal bravery status was unimportant and there was no compulsion for a wronged party to save his face by demanding or taking restitution. Not so the Comanches, to whom ego satisfaction in competitive bravery struggles had become all-important. The military complex so colored all of tribal values that every man responded to the stimulus when wronged. From one point of view Comanche law was a struggle for preservation of status between individual males. Yet it was more than that, for in the institution of the champion-at-law, based though it is on the intermediary's desire to hold high his personal prestige, the Comanches had leaped ahead in a striving for an equitable defense weapon for the aggrieved weakling. This is justice.

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[2] Data for the Western Shoshone are derived from the following sources: Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938); *Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 33, 1933), pp. 230–250; *Linguistic Distributions and Political Groups of the Great Basin Shoshone* (American Anthropologist, vol. 39, 1937), pp. 625–634; Willard Park, *Shamanism in Western North America* (Evanston, 1938); and Others, *Tribal Distribution in the Great Basin* (American Anthropologist, vol. 40, 1938), pp. 622–628; Isabel T. Kelley, *Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 31, 1932), pp. 67–210; R. H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, Vol. 20, 1924), pp. 187–314; Jack Harris, unpublished data on the White Knife Shoshones; M. K. Opler, unpublished data on the Southern Utes, Data for the Northern Shoshone are from the field investigations of the author and F. Gore Hoebel, summarized in Appendix A of this memoir. Also, R. H. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. 2, 1909), pp. 169–306; E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and Hɨkandika Shoshone Relationship Systems* (American Anthropologist, vol. 41, 1939), pp. 440–457; *The Sun Dance of the Hɨkandika Shoshone* (American Anthropologist, vol. 37, 1935), pp. 570–581; *Bands and Distributions of the Eastern Shoshone* (with Verne Ray and Others, in *Tribal Distribution in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions*, [American Anthropologist, vol. 40, 1938], pp. 384–415). Data on the Wind River Shoshone are from unpublished materials generously supplied by D. B. Shimkin.

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	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
I. Communal Organization and Practices				
Bilateral family as preponderant local group.	Regular.	Occasional.	Rare.	Rare.
Cohesive and definite band organization.	Mostly limited to winter villages.	Regular, for the most part.	General.	Ubiquitous.
Tribal organization.	None.	None.	?	Notable consciousness of tribal identity; but no formal tribal organization.
Civil leadership.	Family headman, village headman.	Band peace chief, some with camp crier; family headman for small groups; no juridical authority.	?	Band peace chiefs with camp criers; no juridical authority.
Warfare.	Rare; no institutionalized military pattern.	Unsuccessful simulation of Plains war complex; war leaders; coup and scalp.	Plains type warfare with bravery status; coup and scalp.	Plains military ideal dominant; war chiefs; coup and scalp; bravery status for males.
Horses.	None.	Few.	Numerous.	Multitudinous.

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	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
Communal hunts.	Occasional ritual drives for antelope and rabbits.	Buffalo hunts on the plains with support of allies.	Annual buffalo hunts.	Annual buffalo hunts.
Hunt police.	No police; direction by shaman.	Special police organized for the occasion.	Organized police, becoming permanent in two military fraternities.	No police.
II. Offenses with "legal" sanctions.				
Public delicts, "crimes."	None (?).	1) Cannibalism. 2) Violation of the rules of the communal hunt.	Violation of the rules of the communal hunt.	Excessive sorcery.
Private delicts, "wrongs."	1) Abduction of females. 2) Homicide (?).	1) Gang rape. 2) Adultery. 3) Wife abduction. 4) Homicide.	1) Adultery. 2) Wife absconding. 3) Wife abduction. 4) Homicide (?).	1) Adultery. 2) Wife absconding. 3) Violation of levirate. 4) Sorcery. 5) Killing a favorite horse. 6) Homicide.
III. Procedure and Sanctions in the Law-ways.				
In abduction and gang rape.	Offender runs the gauntlet; or, mass brawls.	Apparently, no institutionalized reactions.	—	—

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
In adultery.	?	Either, no action against the male; or else, attempted homicidal attack. Mutilation of the wife by the husband.	Occasional attempt to kill the male offender by sorcery, sometimes no action attempted, other times horses of male offender are killed or mutilated. Female may sometimes be killed or mutilated.	Restituitive damages collected from male offender. Female regularly mutilated, sometimes killed by the husband. "Third degree" and "sun-killing" used to obtain confession.
In wife absconding.	?	Either, no action; or else, attempted homicidal attack on the male offender, the female, or both.	Sometimes no action, otherwise attempt on life of male offender through sorcery or homicidal assault. Occasionally, restituitive damages received in settlement (the wife may be either recovered or released in this event). There is no predictability as to which of the above courses will be followed.	Restituitive damages recovered from male offender; wife may be recovered or released by husband; or, horses of the male offender may be killed or mutilated. Husband may kill or mutilate his wife if he fails to release her.

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	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
In sorcery.	?	No sorcery (?).	Counter sorcery.	Aggrieved resorts to counter magic through his own powers or those of a hired shaman. Or, relatives threaten physical violence to the sorcerer, in which case he may resort to the conditional curse.
In killing of a favorite horse.	—	?	?	Probable retaliation on horses of offender. Possible mutilation of sister of offender, or homicidal attack on offender.
In homicide.	Retaliation uncertain.	Retaliation uncertain.	Probable retaliation, no continuing feud.	Retaliation on killer; no feud.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

133 The streams which led southeastward became highways for Comanche parties raiding the scattered and undefended Anglo-American settlements of Texas. The hills and breaks made it easy for them to strike and to escape with little danger of being apprehended from this quarter.

The Cross Timbers provided a sort of natural boundary on the east which the Comanches seldom passed. Along the margin, numerous weak, semi-sedentary groups of Indians for a time formed a barrier of sorts against white encroachment on the Comanche hunting grounds. From these tribes the Comanches obtained some vegetable products. North of the Red River the Five Civilized Tribes stood between the Comanches and the whites.

The Cheyennes and the Arapahos ranged the country north of the Arkansas River, making Comanchería fairly safe against white aggression from that direction. Moreover, white expansion was generally westward, not southward.

Such was Comanchería—a land ideally suited for a nomadic warrior people. And the Comanches were true warrior nomads. To them a sedentary existence was intolerable. Although a band normally confined its headquarters within a general area, within this area it was always on the move, and its principal encampment might be many miles from its location during the previous or the following year.

361 Before moving from one area to another, the camp or band headman (or war leader, if a raiding party) usually selected a familiar location which scouts had reported satisfactory. They understood how to select a site well-suited to their needs. The choice of a camp ground, even for a night, involved many factors. Primarily there were five considerations: food, shelter, safety, convenience, and forage for the horses. Colonel Richard I. Dodge relates that he once followed a Comanche raiding party for thirty days before he found a single camp site which he could have approached without discovery.[19]

361 ●171 Among the Plains Indians there is evidence of some tribal differences in preferences for camp sites. The Sioux, who had a mortal dread of ambuscade, preferred to camp near water but away from all timber; the Cheyennes and Arapahos, on the open prairie but near timber; the Osages, Omahas, and Shawnees, in a dense thicket. The

[19] Richard I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 239.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Comanchería

Comanches and their Kiowa allies preferred to camp near a running stream in open timber. Along meandering creek valleys toward the headwaters of larger streams, where there were adequate canyons, arroyos, and breaks for protection, abundant grass for the large horse herds, ample buffalo and antelope for food, wood for the campfires, and sweet water for drinking, were to be found the Comanche villages. A large camp sometimes extended several miles along a stream or forest edge. A Comanche village which lay east of the Wichita Mountains in 1834 is reported to have extended along Cache Creek from Medicine Bluff north to Chandler Creek and southward to Wolf Creek, a distance of fifteen miles.[20]

Within the camp itself there appears to have been no required plan. If the terrain was favorable, the lodges might be grouped in a rough circular fashion about the lodge of the chief. In another village, the lodges might appear to follow a rectangular plan. There were usually as many groups of lodges as there were leaders, the lodges of the most important men being located nearest that of the leader.[21] There was no privacy in the camp, for neighbors entered and left a tipi at will. While busy wives performed their daily tasks of preparing food, tanning hides, and making tipis and clothes, the men spent their time discussing matters of general import, raiding, hunting, making weapons, or simply idling the hours away at sleep or play, and the children shouted at play or assisted their mothers with their work. In the evenings or on any unusual occasion, the whole camp gave vent to joy or sorrow, anger or enthusiasm, by positive, and at times noisy and colorful, demonstrations. Innumerable lanky, ferocious dogs greeted the approaching stranger by day or gave forth in unison to warn their masters of danger by night.

But what had been a noisy camp could become within a few minutes a lonely prairie with little evidence of previous habitation. On the day before the move, the camp crier rode through the camp making the announcement and describing the new location. The next morning the women were in a hurry to pack and be on their way, for those who were first might obtain choice sites in the new camp. One end

[20] W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill*, 7.

[21] T. A. ("Dot") Babb, *In the Bosom of the Comanches*, 106–107; Nelson Lee, *Three Years among the Camanches*, 127–28; George Catlin, *North American Indians*, II, 72; C. C. Rister, *Border Captives*, 16.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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III

The Horse and the Buffalo

THE dominating characteristics of the "typical" nineteenth century Plains Indian culture, according to Clark Wissler, were the use of the horse, the buffalo, the tipi, the soldier band, and the Sun Dance. Although Wissler tagged them as a "typical" Plains tribe, the Comanches never developed the soldier bands beyond a weak, incipient imitation, and it is unlikely that the Sun Dance acquired any meaning for them, since the only one they held was a prelude to disaster. The warfare pattern of the Plains they could readily adopt, for that was an individualistic game. The military societies, however, called for a kind of internal organization which was foreign to their Shoshonean traditions, and since there was no notable functional advantage to be derived from such societies (as there was from warfare), they sensed no need to develop the military clubs to any great extent. The Sun Dance functioned as a tribal integrator for most Plains tribes and as a focal point of Nativistic revivalism for the peripheral Shoshones at the beginning of the twentieth century, but in the case of the Comanches, again with Shoshonean atomism in mind, it appears that there was no interest in tribal integration until sudden disintegration faced them in the eighteen seventies. Then their interest in the Sun Dance as a tribal catalyst produced for them nothing but disaster and the destruction of the old culture.

If, then, the Comanches lacked the typical military societies and the Sun Dance, what was there that made them typical Plains In-

The Comanches

171 dians? Above all, it was the horse-buffalo-tipi complex, in which they equaled or surpassed all other Indians. In horses they were the richest of all tribes; in fact *they* introduced the horse into the plains and they were the medium through which most other Indians received their mounts (at the expense of the Texans and Mexicans). If the horse was the critical factor in later Plains culture, then the Comanches, although they were in other aspects imitators, were in this one very significant aspect the great innovators. Of buffalo they had a plethora and were more richly supplied than the tribes farther north. In warfare no one surpassed them. They were, indeed, typical enough, even without warrior societies and the Sun Dance.

172 174 Just prior to the introduction of the horse there were very few nomadic Indians out on the plains proper. In the moist millenia immediately following the retreat of the fourth (Wisconsin) glaciation, a thin veneer of paleolithic hunters, called the Paleo-Indians, spread out across the plains from the eastern slopes of the Rockies. Their epoch lasted from perhaps 20,000 B.C. to around 10,000, during which the archaeological cultures of Folsom and Yuma dominated the scene. From 10,000 B.C. to A.D. 1,000 a series of transitory cultures of nomadic, pre-pottery, pre-gardening societies, called collectively *lithic,* vacillated back and forth as wet periods and alternating Dust Bowl climates made habitation of the plains possible or nearly untenable. Beginning about A.D. 500 emigrants from the Woodlands of the Mississippi Valley and east brought gardening to the river bottoms of the Missouri and its tributaries. These people and their protohistoric successors lived in settled villages of earth lodges or grass-domed houses, growing corn, squash, maize, and tobacco. When they traveled, they went afoot. They hunted the buffalo and the antelope, but always near home and apparently by driving them into funnel-shaped corrals that opened on a bluff over which the stampeding animals would tumble to their deaths. The buffalo was important to their economy, but not critically so. They also fought, but war was stylized and formal and not a central interest.[1]

177 The coming of the horse from the Southwest and the westward displacement of tribes by the pressures of Eastern Indians armed with guns changed all this, beginning in the seventeenth century.

[1] J. D. Jennings, *Plainsmen of the Past: A Review of the Prehistory of the Plains.*

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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direction of buffalo." That is why he is called *ḳusɛtɛmini*, "asking about the buffalo." Ravens also were buffalo pointers in Comanche belief. They like to eat carrion and were always following the herds to eat the bugs on their hides. When a raven circled over the camp four times, dipping his head and cawing, "he was telling The People where the herd is; he will fly off and show the way."[42]

224 796

Toward the end of or soon after the hunt, a man and wife of respectable family who were noted for their goodness and purity were likely to give a Buffalo Tongue Dance or feast. Men, women, and the older unmarried adolescents who had participated in the hunt were encouraged to attend. The ceremony began early in the morning and ended with the meal at midday. A fire was built outside the tipi and the buffalo tongues were roasted over the coals. When the meat was done, the men were asked to seat themselves in a semicircle about the fire. The women took a position about twenty steps from the opening of the circle. The host or a leading medicine man lighted the pipe. He blew the first puff of smoke toward the sun, the second toward the earth, and one in each of the four directions. The pipe was then passed to the other men who smoked likewise. This was an oath by which the smoker bound himself to speak truthfully.

After all had smoked, a woman was called upon to come forward and serve the tongue. Any man who had had illicit sexual relations with her called out, "no, no," and she returned to her place. If everyone remained quiet, she came forward and served the tongue to the assembled group amid much applause and shrill cries of "li-li-li-li" from all the women present. No dancing or singing accompanied the ceremony.[43]

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This little act was lifted bodily from the Sun Dance complex of other Plains Indians. A Cheyenne Sun Dance giver must collect hundreds of buffalo tongues to distribute to the Sun Dance officers and participants. The Crow ritual called for an "absolutely virtuous woman to serve as Tree-notcher, one who had been purchased in marriage and had been scrupulously chaste."[44] Virtue was tested in a manner similar to that just described. Among Indians like the Crows

[837]

[42] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

[43] Informants: Kills Something; Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old. Other informants were aware of this ceremony.

[44] R. H. Lowie. *The Crow Indians*, 312.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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and Comanches, who really did not expect much in the way of marital fidelity, the stunt seems to be a little meaningless. Among the Cheyennes, however, who originally built up the Sun Dance complex,[45] family virtue was actually adhered to, and every military society had four virginal maidens as essential ritual assistants. As an adjunct of Comanche buffalo tongue banquets, ritual chastity had no place, but as a chance for good-humored teasing it seems to have appealed to the Comanche sense of a good thing.

Had the Comanches and other Plains Indians been left undisturbed by intruders, the buffalo might have supplied their needs indefinitely. But the white man pushed ever relentlessly westward, and intruding Indian bands along the border of the Comanche country began to trespass upon the Comanche hunting grounds. The effects of these encroachments on the country soon began to be felt in a vital way—in the diminishing supply of buffalo. The period between 1830 and 1860 witnessed such destruction that the hunters found it increasingly difficult to sustain their families by hunting.

During the colonial period in Texas, buffalo were seen as far south as the vicinity of the present city of Houston. As early as 1833 explorers and adventurers in the region of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers had begun to observe that the eastern edge of the buffalo range was retreating westward rapidly. The Osage agent wrote in 1841 that his Indians had to extend their hunting operations each year farther and farther into the plains to obtain even a scant supply, and that it would soon be necessary for them to learn to farm.[46] In 1846 it was estimated that one hundred thousand buffalo cow hides annually reached the Canadian and American markets. The bull hides were then regarded as worthless for commercial purposes. At the same time Torrey's Trading House was getting three dollars each for ordinary, and eight dollars for choice, hides.[47] It is difficult to determine how extensively professional white hunters operated during the period be-

[45] L. Spier, "The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XVI, Part 7 (1921).

[46] Agent Wm. Armstrong, *Annual Report*, 1841, 27 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc. 2*, No. 34, 316–17.

[47] C. C. Rister, "The Significance of the Destruction of the Buffalo in the Southwest," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII (1929), 34–39. Torrey's was the official company of the Republic of Texas for trading with the Indians.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The poles were long, straight, and slender, usually of pine or cedar, peeled, seasoned, and pared down to a suitable diameter. They were sometimes pointed at the butt to prevent slipping on the ground. They varied in length from ten to twenty feet, depending on the size tipi desired. Robert G. Carter observed that hundreds of Antelope band poles were of cedar, approximately fourteen feet in length.[32]

Like the Blackfeet, Shoshones, Utes, Crows, Hidastas, Omahas, and others, the Comanches used four poles as a foundation. Many tribes, including the Cheyennes, Gros Ventres, Arapahos, Pawnees, and Kiowas, on the other hand, used a three-pole foundation. The projecting tops of the poles of a tipi erected on a three-pole foundation have a spiral appearance, while the four-pole base tends to group them on the sides. It seems evident from the fact that the Comanches used a four-pole foundation like the Shoshones, Utes, and other northern tribes, instead of the three-pole foundation of the Kiowas, Pawnees, and other southern neighbors, that they first adopted the tipi while still in their northern environment.

In erecting the tipi, the four poles were first tied together near the top and set upright. The butt ends of the poles were then pulled out and evenly spaced in a circle. Against this foundation were stacked the remaining poles, all tied together near the top with thongs of buffalo hide. They were set diagonally into the ground, as deep as two or more feet for a permanent dwelling, and three to four feet apart in a circle. Greater security was sometimes obtained by means of short stakes set at an angle across the lodge poles a few inches above the ground. A tipi thus set would withstand most of the strong winds that swept frequently across the High Plains.

The poles served as rafters. Buffalo hides, carefully fitted and firmly sewed together with sinew, were hoisted with a single pole from inside the framework. Women standing on each other's shoulders fastened the covering at the top. The covering was pinned up the front with wooden skewers the size of a lead pencil. From ten to seventeen buffalo hides were required to make a covering for the usual lodge, and rarely was a tipi larger than twenty skins, even if as many as twenty people were sheltered within. This number compares with an estimated average of fourteen and a maximum of

[32] Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 197; Lee, *op. cit.*, 128.

The Comanches

276 Comanche pipes were made of bone, stone, or wood by both men and women. Many of the early pipes were straight tubes made of bone from the shank of a deer or an antelope, cut off at either end, the marrow punched out, and the mouth end pared down and smoothed. Before being used, such a pipe was commonly wrapped with the ligament from the back of a buffalo bull's neck, and this, when dried, made so complete a reinforcement of the bone that the pipe might last a long time. The straight bone pipes were easier to carry than the more bulky and elaborate stemmed pipes, and were therefore taken on expeditions. They were both long and short, and [171] were called *ɔ'mɔtɔy*. Such pipes were also used by the Kiowas and Cheyennes.[4]

276 324 According to white captives, the stone pipe was most commonly used in later times. Stone pipes were made of soft stone, either white soapstone or red sandstone. Soapstone is easy to fashion, is found in various sections of the Comanche country, and answers as well as clay or meerschaum. The Comanche stone pipe bowl was made with a vertical cylinder on a flat base that projected forward and back from the bowl. This spur beyond the bowl allowed the smoker to grip the bowl without burning his hands. He had to use a two-handed grip to keep the bowl from falling off the stem, since the two parts of the pipe were not fastened together. Soapstone bowls were usually dyed red or black with a preparation concocted of poke berry and grease or walnut juice. Hard wood was sometimes substituted for stone. Pipes were often artistically engraved and designed, particularly those intended for ceremonial use.

411 [462] The manufacturing of weapons and equipment for war and the hunt belonged primarily to the category of man's work. Perhaps the most important article was the bow and arrow. The Comanches made excellent bows, which they used with great skill. A good bow required a long time and much care and labor in construction. The [463] experts were usually the old men who could no longer go to war. According to informants, they had no organization or "guild." The [435] customary present or fee given for an ordinary wooden bow was one horse.[5]

[4] Informant: Post Oak Jim: see also Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 208.
[5] Informant: Kills Something.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

Miscellaneous. The body build of the Comanches is inclined to corpulency, perhaps even more today than in Catlin's time. The hands appeared small but well formed. Several instances were noted where the second toe of the foot was distinctly longer than the first or big toe.

The health of the Comanches seemed not particularly good. Trachoma is endemic, with actual blindness or badly impaired vision frequent. Rheumatism, venereal diseases, and tuberculosis were other common complaints.

Relative to mentality, Richardson ('27, p. 72) says, "the Comanches were not a dull people. In native ability their chiefs were a match for the keenest minds of the white men." Mooney appraises them as 'practical and businesslike.' Although the present writer's sojourn with the tribe was very brief, he can emphatically confirm the judgments of the aforementioned observers. Joking or bantering proclivities seemed also a widespread characteristic.

MEASUREMENTS[a]

Stature. The average stature of the Comanches, according to the writer's data, is 168.3 cm. for males and 156.1 cm. for females. These averages are quite close to those reported by Boas (1895 a, males 167.8 cm., females 156.2 cm.), being practically identical in the females. A significant likeness, too, appears in the gross distribution of the two series, namely, approximately one-fourth, respectively, being short (below 166 cm.), and tall (above 173 cm.).

	Males	
	Under 166 cm., per cent	Over 173 cm., per cent
Comanche		
Goldstein	29.4	23.5
Boas	24.4	27.1
Apache and Navaho (Boas, 1895 a)	23.7	25.3

[a] It may be mentioned that the percental distributions of the characters measured, not included here, were, despite the small numbers, as a rule of remarkably even spread, i.e., conforming to the normal distribution curve. The averages, minima and maxima of the various characters are appended at the end.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

141 Fairly close similarity of average statures is also noted
171 between the Comanche, Shoshoni, and Apache.

Stature

GROUP	MALES		FEMALES	
	Number of subjects	Stature	Number of subjects	Stature
		cm.		cm.
Comanche (Goldstein)	(17)	168.3	(25)	156.1
Shoshoni (Boas, 1899)	(42)	166.5	(21)	152.8
Apache (Hrdlička, '09)	(212)	169.1	(70)	156.8

Arm-spread. The mean excess of arm-spread over stature is rather large in the males, 7.7 cm. and 6.9 cm. for full- and probable full-bloods, respectively. The arms of the females are relatively, as well as absolutely, shorter, showing an average stature-span index of 102.2 as compared with the male 104.5. The arm-span was slightly less than stature in only two instances among the males, but was not infrequently in the females.

The Shoshoni[14] (Boas, 1899) approach very closely the Comanche in relative length of arms, giving indices of 104.3 and 103.3 for males and females, respectively. The Apache, on the other hand, apparently differ materially in this respect from the Comanche, yielding indices of 100.6 for each sex.

Height sitting. The Comanche stem length (males, 88.25 cm.) appears intermediate between the Apache (90.3 cm.) and the Shoshone (86.7 cm.). Relative to total height, the averages of 52.3 per cent in the males and 52.8 per cent in the females, are very close to the Shoshoneans (52.2 per cent and 52.7 per cent, respectively). The Apache males have relatively somewhat longer upper bodies (53.2 per cent of stature), but the females (52.8 per cent) are in this feature identical with the Comanches.

[14] Some measurements on males are available for the Shoshoni proper; others, including all the female data herein used, are available only for a combined group of Shoshonean bands (Boas, 1899); in the following, 'Shoshone' will refer to the latter.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

The sitting height of the probable full-bloods averages 89.58 cm., and this is 52.89 per cent of total height; absolutely and relatively, therefore, they have longer upper bodies than the full-bloods.

Head measurements. The head of the Comanche is free from artificial deformation. It is fairly long, but also quite broad. The vault, taken from the base of the biauricular line to bregma, is low, as low as that of the Apache. No data for this latter feature is available on the living Shoshone, although skull measurements indicate a low vault (Hrdlička, '27).[15]

Head dimensions

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	HEAD LENGTH	HEAD BREADTH	HEAD HEIGHT
		Males		
		cm.	cm.	cm.
Comanche	(18)	19.17	16.03	13.47
Shoshoni	(43)	19.35	15.31	....
Apache	(148)	18.7	15.8	13.5
		Females		
Comanche	(25)	18.53	15.24	13.25
Shoshoni	(26)	18.43	14.62	....
Apache	(41)	17.5	15.5	13.0

Cephalic module. ($\frac{L. + B. + H.}{3}$) The cephalic module or mean diameter of the head, as seen below, shows the Comanche intermediate between the Apache and the Sioux. The female to male relationship in this feature is virtually alike in Comanche (96.0) and Sioux (96.7). The head of the Comanche is large; indeed, relative to stature, it is probably as large as that of any North American tribe.

[15] Dr. Truman Michelson's unpublished data on the Wind River Shoshoni confirm this.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

Head module and stature

GROUP	MALES				FEMALES			
	Module		Module × 1000 / Stature		Module		Module × 1000 / Stature	
	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average
		cm.				cm.		
Comanche	(18)	16.22	(17)	96.4	(25)	15.67	(25)	100.4
Sioux (Hrdlička, 31 a)	(72)	16.40	(72)	94.8	(36)	15.86	(36)	99.7
Apache	(174)	16.00	(167)	94.0	(41)	15.35	(41)	97.9

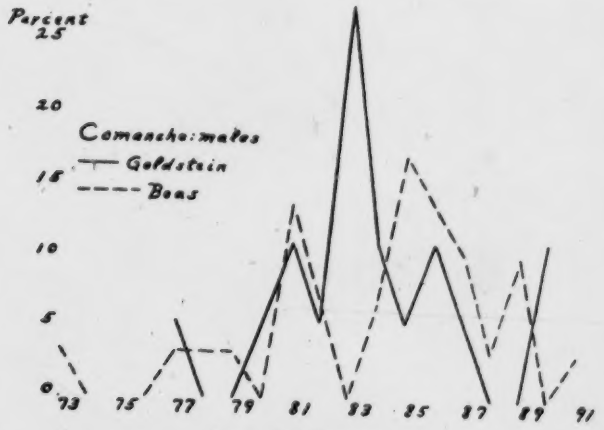

Fig. 1 Cephalic index.

Cephalic index. The form of the head of the full-blood Comanches ranges from meso- to strong brachycephaly, with an average index of 83.7 for males and 82.25 for females. The writer's average for the males is fairly close to that reported by Boas for the same sex (see below); no index for females was mentioned by the latter. More detailed comparison with Boas' data is presented graphically (fig. 1). In

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

general outline the two series appear very similar. The curve according to Boas' data, however, is flatter, suggesting greater variability. A difference also exists in the modal or most frequent index, occurring at 85 in the Boas curve, and at 83 in the writer's.

This tendency toward a greater proportion of decided brachycephaly in the Boas series is likewise illustrated by the distributions below.

Comanche males

	Number of subjects	Average	Under 79 per cent	Over 84 per cent
Goldstein	(18)	83.7	5.6	33.3
Boas	(29)	84.6	10.2	65.3

Both series are small and this inadequacy of numbers probably accounts in a large measure for the difference in the distributions, although cognizance must also be taken of the possibility of the presence of some mixed blood in the Boas series.

Boas further gives a cranial index of 80.0 for fifteen Kiowa and Comanche combined skulls.

The Comanches, according to both Boas and the writer, are definitely brachycephalic, and in this important respect are quite different from the equally definitely mesocephalic Shoshoni.[16] The Apache, Caddo, Kiowa, and Navaho appear related to the Comanche in head form.

Cephalic index, males

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	CEPHALIC INDEX
Apache (Hrdlička, '08)	(148)	84.9
Comanche (Boas, 1895 a)	(29)	84.6
Comanche (Goldstein)	(18)	83.7
Navaho (Hrdlička, '31 b)	(28)	83.7
Caddo (Boas, 1895 a)	(36)	83.5
Kiowa (Boas, 1895 a)	(40)	82.0
Shoshoni	(43)	79.1

[16] See also T. Michelson. Note on Shoshoni Anthropometry. Proc. 23rd Internat. Cong. Americanists, N. Y., 1928, p. 856.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

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●171 *Height indices.* The height of the vault relative to length and breadth of the head is seen to be rather low in the males, but fairly high in the females. Relative to the mean of length and breadth of head, probably a more clear-cut index, the height in the males averages lower than that of the Apache, and is as low as that of the Sioux; the females again, however, show good height.

Head height indices

GROUP	MALES				FEMALES			
	Number of subjects	Height-length index	Height-breadth index	Mean[2] height index	Number of subjects	Height-length index	Height-breadth index	Mean[2] height index
Old U. S. Whites[1]	?	70.0	89.5	79.2	?	71.0	89.5	79.7
Apache	(148)	72.1	84.9	78.3	(41)	74.6	84.1	78.8
Comanche	(18)	70.4	84.0	76.6	(25)	71.5	87.0	78.5
Sioux	(72)	68.1	86.3	76.1	(36)	68.6	84.7	75.8

[1] These and other figures following for the Old U. S. Whites are taken from Hrdlička's 'Old Americans' ('25) and from abstracts of the same data in his 'Anthropology of the Sioux' ('31).

[2] Height: length + breadth.

Dimensions of the face. The facial dimensions corroborate the impression of largeness obtained by inspection. The length below the forehead compares favorably with that of the Sioux, and exceeds this diameter in the Apache and Shoshoni; the total length is not so great, indicating a low forehead.

The breadth of the face is astonishingly large even for an Indian people; the Comanches in this respect are probably exceeded by few or no other tribes.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

Dimensions of the face

GROUP		MALES			FEMALES		
		Menton-nasion	Menton-crinion	Diameter bizygomatic maximum	Menton-nasion	Menton-crinion	Diameter bizygomatic maximum
Sioux	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?	?	?
	Average (cm.)	12.84	19.42	15.1	11.97	18.07	14.6
Comanche	Number of subjects	(18)	(14)	(19)	(25)	(24)	(25)
	Average (cm.)	12.67	18.71	15.44	11.98	17.76	14.68
Shoshoni	Number of subjects	(42)	....	(43)	(21)	....	(26)
	Average (cm.)	11.88	....	14.82	10.85	....	13.69
Apache	Number of subjects	(174)	....	(174)	(51)	....	(51)
	Average (cm.)	11.8	....	14.9	10.8	....	14.1
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	Number of subjects	....	?	....	....	?	....
	Average (cm.)	....	18.46	....	....	17.23	....

Facial indices. Although absolutely long, the face below the forehead is relatively to the breadth only moderate, the males in this respect approaching the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico; the females in this feature are closest to the Sioux.

The physiognomic index is noteworthy for indicating great relative broadness.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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Facial indices

GROUP		MALES		FEMALES	
		Morphologic index	Physiognomic index	Morphologic index	Physiognomic index
Sioux	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?
	Average	85.1	77.4	81.9	80.8
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?
	Average	82.2	77.7	82.1	78.7
Comanche	Number of subjects	(18)	(14)	(25)	(24)
	Average	82.1	82.1	81.6	82.6
Shoshoni	Number of subjects	(42)	....	(21)	....
	Average	80.1	....	79.2	....
Apache	Number of subjects	(174)	....	(51)	....
	Average	78.8	....	76.4	....

Height and breadth of forehead. The average height of forehead among the Comanches is very low, especially that of the males. This metrical lowness is in contrast to the more medium height noted by inspection.

The average minimal frontal diameter of the forehead is seen in both sexes to be almost like that of the Sioux. A rather unusually low variability occurred in this character among the males.

Forehead

GROUP		MALES		FEMALES	
		Height of forehead	Minimum frontal diameter	Height of forehead	Minimum frontal diameter
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?
	Average (cm.)	6.66	10.41	6.12	10.17
Sioux	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?
	Average (cm.)	6.48	10.64	5.93	10.30
Comanche	Number of subjects	(14)	(19)	(24)	(25)
	Average (cm.)	6.05	10.69	5.71	10.29
Old U. S. Whites	Number of subjects	(148)	(247)	(207)	(210)
	Average (cm.)	6.58	10.59	6.45	10.12

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

Breadth of lower jaw. The gonio-frontal index is used by Hrdlička to indicate relative breadth of the lower jaw. The Comanches have a moderately wide mandible, much less developed in width than the Sioux, but in the males almost identical with the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico.

GROUP	MALES			FEMALES		
	Number of subjects	Bigonial diameter	Gonio-frontal index[1]	Number of subjects	Bigonial diameter	Gonio-frontal index[1]
		cm.			cm.	
Sioux	?	11.5	92.7	?	11.0	93.6
Comanches	(19)	11.08	96.48	(25)	10.66	96.51
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	10.79	96.5	?	10.15	100.2
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	10.63	99.1	(210)	9.84	103.0

[1] Minimum frontal diameter × 100: bigonal diameter.

The nose. The nose of the Comanche appears unusually long, showing a greater average length than any of the compared peoples.

In breadth, too, the nose is generous, perceptibly exceeding the averages of the Sioux and the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico, but appearing practically like that of the Shoshoni.

Nose

GROUP	MALES				FEMALES			
	Number of subjects	Length	Breadth	Index	Number of subjects	Length	Breadth	Index
		cm.	cm.			cm.	cm.	
Shoshoni	(42)	5.27	4.30	81.6	(26)	4.95	4.01	85.1
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	5.18	4.15	80.4	?	4.8	3.78	78.6
Sioux	?	5.94	4.18	70.4	?	5.45	4.04	74.1
Comanche	(19)	6.28	4.36	69.4	(25)	5.75	3.98	69.17
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	5.35	3.61	67.5	(210)	4.94	3.25	65.98

The resulting nasal index is leptorrhinic, which in this instance does not so much signify narrowness as unusual height.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

14/71 The apparently unusual height of the nose, combined with the previously indicated long lower face (nasion to chin), and seeming unusually low forehead, may suggest that the nasion was judged higher than the actual. The precise determination of nasion is admittedly difficult, and the possibility of a small constant error must be recognized. It may be mentioned, however, that a large number of photographs of Comanches were carefully scrutinized, according to which, in general, the nose did appear quite long, tending to confirm the metric data.

The mouth. The Comanches possess a moderately wide mouth, though a large face. The comparative data are self-explanatory.

Breadth of mouth

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	MALES	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	FEMALES
		cm.		cm.
Sioux	?	6.30	?	6.16
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	5.85	?	5.49
Comanche	(19)	5.76	(25)	5.69
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	5.37	(210)	4.95

The ear. Upon inspection the ear of the Comanches appeared strikingly long and rather narrow. The metric data indicate that both dimensions, especially in the males, are large, being distinctly greater than those of the Sioux, Shoshone, or Old U. S. Whites. The low index shows plainly the great relative length of the ear and explains the impression of narrowness notwithstanding good width.

Ear

GROUP	MALES				FEMALES			
	Number of subjects	Length	Breadth	Index	Number of subjects	Length	Breadth	Index
		cm.	cm.			cm.	cm.	
Comanches	(19)	7.63	3.99	52.38	(25)	7.08	3.66	51.75
Sioux	?	7.33	3.93	53.6	?	7.05	3.76	53.3
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	6.69	3.79	56.7	(210)	6.10	3.47	56.9
Shoshone	(45	6.52	....	....	(11)	6.10	....	....

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

The chest. The Comanches, although a shorter people than the Sioux, approach the latter in dimensions of the chest, especially in breadth. The average index indicates a relatively deep chest, but does not quite reach the splendid depth of the Sioux; it shows to greater advantage however than those of the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico or Old U. S. Whites.

Chest, males

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	BREADTH	DEPTH	INDEX
		cm.	cm.	
Sioux	?	31.92	26.0	81.4
Comanche	(16)	31.51	24.5	77.76
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	29.9	22.8	76.15
Old U. S. Whites	(246)	29.76	21.7	72.93

Left hand. The metric data corroborates a visual observation, namely, the remarkably small hand of the Comanche. It is, however, well proportioned, giving a length-breadth index very similar to that of the Sioux and the Old U. S. Whites.

Left hand, males

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	LENGTH	BREADTH	INDEX
		cm.	cm.	
Comanche	(17)	17.91	8.51	47.52
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	18.53	8.51	45.9
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	19.28	9.18	47.64
Sioux	?	19.83	9.43	47.6

The left foot. The foot of the males, according to the data below, shows nothing distinctive; in both dimensions and in the somewhat large relative breadth it resembles the foot of the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Left foot, males

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	LENGTH	BREADTH	INDEX
		cm.	cm.	
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	25.42	10.15	37.91
Comanches	(14)	25.99	10.05	38.68
Old U. S. Whites	(245)	26.12	9.45	36.33
Sioux	?	26.8	9.93	37.1

'PROBABLE' FULL-BLOODS

These individuals, it will be recalled, could not be as certainly diagnosed with respect to possible mixture as the full-bloods, and were therefore considered 'probably' full-blood.

The metric data clearly show tangible and fairly consistent differences between this group and the full-bloods, although the differences between the means of several important measurements and indices (stature, head height, cephalic index) were found to be statistically not significant;[17] the numbers concerned, however, are probably too small for statistical refinement. On the other hand, the writer could not conscientiously classify this group with the mixed-bloods, for, as seen below, they appear almost as divergent from the mixed- as from the full-bloods. If mixture of blood is present, it is probably not very recent, in so far as mixture in these individuals was apparently unknown to the members of the tribe and, according to their outward physical appearance, would seem to have been primarily with other Indian groups. Whether a larger series would materially affect the averages is, of course, problematical.

In short, the probable full-bloods appear to be an aberrant group, resembling in physiognomy and shape of head the Sioux, but in stature, and especially in high vault of head, approaching the Navaho.

[17] Difference between the means being less than four times $\sqrt{a^2 + b^2}$ where a and b equal the probable error of the first and second means, respectively.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

Comparison of full-, probable full- and mixed-blood males[1]

MEASUREMENT	FULL-BLOOD		PROBABLE FULL-BLOOD		MIXED-BLOOD	
	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average
Stature	(17)	168.29	(15)	169.22	(23)	169.11
Sitting height index	(16)	52.3	(13)	52.89	(15)	52.17
Cephalic index	(18)	83.74	(16)	80.35	(23)	82.59
Head height	(18)	13.47	(16)	13.84	(24)	13.66
Head module	(18)	16.22	(16)	16.41	(24)	16.20
Mean height index	(18)	76.56	(16)	78.48	(23)	78.2
Face: Menton-nasion	(18)	12.67	(16)	12.46	(22)	12.59
Menton-erinion	(14)	18.71	(14)	18.74	(19)	18.42
Bizygomatic diameter	(19)	15.44	(16)	15.28	(22)	14.98
Index, morphologic	(18)	82.05	(16)	81.51	(22)	84.01
Index, physiognomic	(14)	82.05	(14)	81.97	(19)	81.14
Nose: Index	(19)	69.49	(16)	74.61	(22)	68.88

[1] All figures except indices are in centimeters.

DISCUSSION

The traditional close and friendly contact of the Comanche with the Shoshoni, each speaking the same language and apparently possessing no social barriers to free intermarriage, would seem to have made some miscegenation between the two peoples very likely. At the same time, however, any closer physical relationship than possible occasional intermarriage, seems doubtful, considering the fundamental difference of head form in the two groups—the Comanche definitely bracycephalic, the Shoshoni, and other Shoshonean tribes of the northern plateaux, definitely mesocephalic. The only Shoshonean groups similar to the Comanches in average stature and cephalic index are those of southern California (Boas, 1895 b). Even these, however, differ from the Comanches in the important character of shape and probably relatively greater breadth of the nose.[18]

The Comanches, in the light of their history, are undoubtedly a complex group physically; they are mixed to a greater or lesser extent probably with all the many and varied tribes

[18] "The nose is very often concave, rather short, but wide with thick alae." (Boas, 1895 b, p. 269.)

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

with which they came in contact in their vast nomadic range. On the whole, excepting a suggestion of the Sioux in their physiognomy, and of the Shoshone in body proportions, the Comanches seem to the writer, in view of their medium to tall stature, clear brachycephaly, low vault of head, and large and heavy facial features, an essentially Apache-like people.

SUMMARY

The Comanches are of medium average stature, generally of robust physique, and possess relatively long arms.

Their head is absolutely and relatively to stature large; it is meso- to decidedly brachycephalic in shape, and very low in height.

The face is very broad and probably long below the forehead; the forehead seems very low in height, but is fairly broad in width. A broad but also long nose, moderately wide mouth, and moderately developed (in width) lower jaw, completes the physiognomy. The ears are large in both dimensions, also relatively long; the chest is wide and fairly deep; the hand usually small but well formed; the foot relatively somewhat broad.

In a number of the above features, particularly stature and shape and height of head, the Comanche appear essentially related to the Apache; their decided brachycephalic would seem to preclude close physical affinity with the linguistically related mesocephalic Shoshoni.

A group of so-called probable full-bloods appears as an aberrant type, chiefly in much lower brachycephaly and high vault of head. In taller stature and high vault of head they resemble the Navaho; in their other characters they tend to approach the Sioux.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 *tuberosus*), but some other plant might fit the description equally well.
262 Hoebel (10) records three Shoshone food plants the names of which suggest a relationship to the Comanche *paiyap*. The first of these (Shoshone: *yep* or *muhaiyep*) has a single "root," grows in the hills, and is harvested in early March. The second (Shoshone: *ṭimbiyep*, that is, "rock *yep*") grows in rocky outcrops. It is of interest to note here that Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term *tiḿ-bo-ip* (rock + root + plant) for plants growing over rocks. The third has the Shoshone name *piayep*, meaning "big *yep*," which appears to be the Shoshone equivalent of the Comanche *paiyap;* it is described as having several large tubers.

824 The pod of the mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*) contains a con-
252 siderable amount of gummy saccharine material, of which a number
263 of analyses have been made. One of the more recent shows the beans to contain about twenty per cent sugar (28, p. 656). The Comanche
[415] crushed them in a mortar made of buffalo hide, using a pestle of mesquite wood. After the beans were crushed, the seeds were removed and the pods pounded to a fine meal, which was used alone or added to corn meal as a sweetening. A mush was prepared by
[272] mixing mesquite meal with marrow, and a drink (Comanche: *pihi-sawanap*) was made by combining mesquite meal and corn meal in water. Whether or not this drink was allowed to ferment is not mentioned in the notes. The Comanche preparation and uses of
[170] the mesquite beans are almost identical with those of the Apache and the tribes of the Gila region of Arizona (3, pp. 43–44; 4, pp. 41, 53), where the mesquite was a staple food. Among these tribes a fermented beverage was prepared from the mesquite alone or from a mixture of mesquite and corn meal.

824 In times of scarcity the acorns of the blackjack oak (*Quercus*
261 *marilandica*) were eaten. They were shelled and boiled, and might
171 be stored for future use. The Comanche, unlike many other tribes, did not grind them into meal, but ate them whole. Castetter (3, p. 47) reports that certain of the Pueblos also boiled the kernels whole. Acorns were widely used as food by various tribes, particularly in the Southwest, the Southeast, and California, and among some Indians in the latter region they were the major food staple.

The roots of several plants were eaten or chewed merely for their flavor. These seem to have been chiefly in the nature of famine foods and food supplements rather than staples. The roots of a

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

thistle (*Cirsium undulatum*), the Comanche name of which was *tsɔn*, were eaten raw. This same species (listed as *Cnicus undulatus*) and others were used in much the same manner by the Gosiute (6, p. 56), who called the plants *tsin'ga* or *tsi'na*. The Snake Indians ate the roots of a thistle (listed as *Cnicus eriocephalus*, 1, p. 10), which they called *tsinah*. Hoebel (10) gives the Shoshone name of another thistle as *tsɔ'ntnɔ* and states that the root was eaten after being roasted in ashes. Its stalk, while young and tender, was eaten raw, and had the interestingly similar Shoshone name *tsɔ'ngabɔk*. A plant not collected and not seen but described as a water lily furnished edible roots, which were prepared by boiling. Two plants of the water-lily family (Nymphaeaceae) which were widely used by Indians in this manner and which would have been available to the Comanche (23, pp. 144, 145) are the American lotus (*Nelumbo lutea*) and the yellow pond lily (*Nymphaea advena*). The plant in question was probably one of these. The roots of the button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed, the juice being swallowed for its rich fatty taste, and those of the sweet-flavored purple prairie clover (*Petalostemum purpureum*) were likewise relished. The roots of the purple prairie clover and the white prairie clover (*Petalostemum candidum*) were similarly used by the Ponca (7, p. 94); those of another prairie clover (*Petalostemum oligophyllum*) found favor among some of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico (3, p. 33). The inner bark of a hawthorn (*Crataegus sp.*) was said to serve as a chewing gum.

The nuts of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) were eaten fresh or were stored, without preparation, for winter use, as were those of the black walnut (*Juglans nigra*). Native wild pecan trees are plentiful in the rich valleys of the Comanche county and southward, and the nuts were prized by the Indians. They have been adopted as a delicacy by the white man, also, and the produce of both wild and cultivated trees is today an item of considerable economic importance.

Most Indian tribes make considerable use of plants as salads or greens and also steep the leaves in water to prepare various beverages. It is surprising that the Comanche notes do not include a single plant used for greens, and mention only two whose leaves were utilized in making drinks. The leaves of bush clover (*Lespedeza capitata*) were boiled in water to furnish a tea. The other beverage was prepared from the foliage of a plant said to grow in damp places and to have red fruits. This description strongly suggests the mem-

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824 276 796 type generally affected by members of the Peyote cult among all Oklahoma tribes," and he also mentions (p. 163) obtaining a necklace of mescal beans from the Iowa, but he does not connect either of these with the peyote ceremony. Schultes (21, p. 141) states that a [789 841] Kiowa peyote leader wore mescal beans on the lower part of his leggings "as a safeguard against stepping on menstrual blood," and La Barre (12, p. 45) observed mescal beans worn on Kiowa peyote moccasins for the same purpose. La Barre (12, p. 106) indicates an [301] unpublished manuscript by Mooney as his source for the statement that the Comanche used to get mescal beans from near Fort Stanton (New Mexico), but apparently only for ornamental purposes.

783 824 Our informants stated that in ceremonies the leaves of the red cedar or juniper (*Juniperus virginiana*) were placed on the fire and the smoke inhaled for purification. Throughout the Plains the red cedar is associated with ceremonies and particularly with purification. La Barre (12, pp. 45–53) mentions several instances of the participation of a "Cedar-man" in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote rites. The duties of this individual seem to be to sprinkle "dried and rubbed cedar" on the fire, and at certain stages the members purify themselves in the smoke from this incense. Schultes (21, p. 139) describes the typical manner of use of the cedar incense in peyote ceremonies.

824 352 ● 171 The Comanche brought great quantities of wormwood or "sage" (*Artemisia filifolia*) into the tipi for use as cushions. There is a strong suggestion that they did this in the ceremonial tipi especially, where "sage" (*Artemisia spp.*) was commonly employed as floor covering and cushions. La Barre (12, p. 45) mentions the spreading of sagebrush in the tipi for seats in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote ceremony and the resting of the "father peyote" on sprigs of sage (pp. 46–47). Opler (18, pp. 277, 279) says that the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache also strewed it on the floor and describes the placing of the "chief peyote" on it, for the peyote is considered to be friendly to no plant but this. Schultes (21, pp. 139–140) describes approximately the same uses of sage (the species *Artemisia vulgaris*) in the tipi, mentions the chewing of a few leaves of it before eating peyote, and also its place in the sweat lodge.

824 343 Two other plants used by the Comanche in the sweat lodge are the skunkbush (*Rhus trilobata*) and little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*). The bark of the former was placed in hot water and the

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

668 c) After Iʂatai had issued the call for the Sun Dance "which was widely heralded,
792 and when the tribesmen assembled in May at a point on Red river near the agency boundary, every band was represented, several of them by almost one hundred percent of their people. . . . The great chiefs of the past had never been able to bring the scattered threads of the tribe together, but now a youthful warrior was about to accomplish that."[7]

d) The doctrine which Iʂatai preached was as follows:

a') The Caddoes, Wichitas and other tribes which had settled into reservation life were "going down hill fast" in numbers and well-being.

b') This was the fate in store for the Comanches if they heeded to the demands of the government.

c') But if they would turn to the war path and annihilate the Whites, then they would again become powerful and prosperous.

d') With his supernatural power he was empowered to cover all the warriors with immunity to bullets, and so he could guarantee the success of the venture against the Whites.[8]

[619] e) Because of the violent tenor which the councils took, the pénətekɔ (Swift Stingers) band of Texas Comanches and a few other smaller groups withdrew and departed for home.

668 f) When the Sun Dance was finished he led a great war party of Comanches, ac-
792 companied by some Kiowas and Southern Cheyenes, south into Texas to wipe out
726 the buffalo hunters who had their headquarters at Adobe Walls. There they came up against the new large caliber, long-range buffalo guns with which the professional buffalo hunters were equipped. The effect was disconcerting and disastrous. Iʂatai was discredited, and though he did not receive the horse-whipping that some of the warriors threatened, his influence as a prophet and leader was ended.[9]

g) But the fire Iʂatai had set was not yet burned out. Throughout that summer and the next year scores of murderous attacks were made upon white travelers and settlements throughout the southern plains. The result was to provoke determined military action and the abandonment of the Quaker Policy in Indian Affairs on the part of the United States. By 1875 the Comanches were militarily crushed, and that year "marks the end of their influence as a frontier factor of significance."[10]

So ended the Comanche experience with militant messianism in 1873–74.

668 In conclusion, attention may be called to the significance of these data for the
● 171 question of North American prophet cults. Wallis[11] has summarized the materials which demonstrate a general and long-standing tendency to messianic attempts in this part of the aboriginal world. Spier, in proving the roots of the Ghost Dance in the Prophet Dance complex of the northwestern tribes, has laid stress upon the indigenous nature of regeneration of the dead in the cultures of that area.[12] The

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 374. [8] Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes*, unpublished.
[9] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 376. Also, Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes.*
[10] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 397.
[11] W. D. Wallis, *Messiahs: Christian and Pagan* (Boston, 1918), Chap. V.
[12] Spier, *op. cit.*, *in toto.*

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanches, who stem from the northern Shoshones, not uncommonly experienced the return from the spirit world on the part of those who had died. It may be said of the Comanches that they had all the basic cultural materials for the prophet cult, such as Spier describes, except the dance form. And they used the Sun Dance to fill this need.

The crisis situation which Kroeber,[13] Lowie,[14] Wallis,[15] and Lesser[16] have emphasized as essential to the emergence of Plains messianism had arisen in the southern plains long before 1890. It may well have been that a Ghost Dance could have swept northward from the Comanches in 1873 had not their initial effort ended in such utter disaster.

As is well known, Professor Kroeber has laid the indifference of the California tribes to the great movement of 1890 to "immunization" by their previous experience in the 1870's.[17] This thesis aptly applies to the Comanches, who were coldly indifferent to the Ghost Dance which raged through the Plains at the end of the century. The sole Comanches to take up that dance were a few northerners who were in close contact with their dancing neighbors, and the Swift Stingers band—the one Comanche band which had refused to participate in the outbreak of 1873.[18] Mooney's explanation, which laid the Comanche rejection of the Ghost Dance to a "general skeptical temperament of the Comanches" and to a "tribal pride against borrowing from others, as they considered their own mescal rite sufficient,"[19] must now be discarded in its entirety.

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THE SOUTHERN UTE PEYOTE CULT

In his article on *The Character and History of the Southern Ute Peyote Rite*,[1] Dr Marvin K. Opler presents a description of the cult and an interpretation of the conditions relating to its acceptance which warrant further discussion. In January, 1938, I spent a week with peyotists on the Ute Mountain reservation at Towaoc, Colorado, in circumstances ideal for learning about peyotism.[2] Several coincidences contributed to my being favorably received: at Blanding, Utah, on my way to Colorado, I had been instrumental in having two Towaoc peyotists released from jail, where they

[13] A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, 1925).

[14] R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion* (New York, 1924), pp. 193–195.

[15] Wallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.

[16] A. Lesser, *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game* (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, xvi, 1933), p. 59. [17] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, pp. 868–869.

[18] James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Report 14, 1896), pp. 901–902. [19] *Ibid.*

[1] (American Anthropologist, 42, 1940), pp. 463–478.

[2] Incidental to a Culture Element Distribution Survey under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

[pp 304-end, not processed]

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

sa'mu'pï? (sa'mup)	*m.s.:* si.; *w.s.:* b.; also cousins of opp. sex.
ta'ka? (no address form)	b., si.: also cousins.
tu'a? (tua')	s.; *m.s.:* b.s., w.si.s.; *w.s.:* si.s., h.b.s.
pe'tï? (pe't(ï))	d.; *m.s.:* b.d., w.si.d.; *w.s.:* si.d., h.b.d.
mo'na'pï? (mo'napï)	d.h., si.d.h., b.d.h.
hu''cipia'pï? (hu''cipia')	s.w., b.s.w., si.s.w.
cò·?a?a''pï? (cò·?a?a'p(ï))	g.d.h.
cò·?api'a? (cò·?api'a')	g.s.w.
nïmïco'·? (nïmïco'·?)	*m.s.:* w.g.p.; *w.s.:* h.g.p.
nïmïto'ko? (nïmïto'ko)	*m.s.:* w.f., w.f.b., w.f.si.h., w.m.b., w.m.si.h.
nïmïka'ku? (nïmïka'ku)	*m.s.:* w.m., w.m.si., w.f.si., w.m.b.w., w.f.b.w.
ya'hi'pï? (ya'hip)	*w.s.:* h.f., h.f.b., h.m.b., h.f.si.h., h.m.si.h.; h.m., h.m.si., h.f.si., h.m.b.w., h.f.b.w.
ku·'ma'pï? (kú'map(ï))	*w.s.:* h., h.b., si.h., si.h.b.
kwï''p (kwï'h(ï))	*m.s.:* w., w.si., b.w., b.w.si.
te'?cï (te'?cï)	*m.s.:* w.b., si.h.
pa'hapia'pï? (pa'hapia'pï?)	*w.s.:* h.si., b.w.
ha'ipia (ha'ipia)	*m.s.:* w.si., b.w., b.w.si.; *w.s.:* h.b., si.h., si.h.b.
ha'ic (ha'ic)	*m.s.:* male friend; w.si.h.(?); f.b.s., f.si.s., m.b.s., m.si.s.
tï'·ï? (tï'·ï)	*w.s.:* female friend; h.b.w.(?); f.b.d., f.si.d., m.b.d., m.si.d.

It is important to recognize that, with one somewhat confused exception (háic), these relationship terms each apply to a group of individuals of indefinite number, limited only by the fact that they normally belong only to one generation (of relationship, not age), and of course that they all stand in a certain relation to the speaker. While this group may have no functional significance as such, and certainly its limits are very poorly defined in any given case, this is the manner in which the kinship system operates at the verbal level. Behaviorally, there is no doubt that a certain focal individual (or individuals) is clearly recognized, and the rest of the group is more or less characterized, at least potentially, by this focal relationship; but to describe these groups exclusively in terms of such a person or persons is to give an erroneous picture of the actual structure of the system.

COMPARATIVE

In seeking for comparisons with Comanche kinship customs, one finds that these corroborate the already known origin of the Comanche as an offshoot of the Wyoming Shoshoni. Comparing them with the nearby Fort Hall and Lemhi Shoshoni relationship terminologies as given by Steward[6] one finds such extreme similarity, both phonetically and conceptually, that a very close historical connection between the two is indisputable. The only real difference is a negative one: the Comanche have no terms for a child's spouse's parents, and thus

[6] Steward (1938 a), pp. 297–306.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

601 do not consider them relatives. The other difference of any importance is the
●171 substitution of a single unanalyzable term for the husband's parents noted above; the Lemhi Shoshoni have all four of the "our (children's) grandparent" terms possible, and the Fort Hall Shoshani three, according to Steward.

From this general Fort Hall area in southeastern Idaho, among the various Basin groups, similarities with the Comanche relationship terminology gradually decrease to the south and southwest, as might be expected.

Wider comparisons with Uto-Aztecan and other kinship systems may be found in a recent article of Shimkin's,[7] for such close similarities with the Basin groups permit his conclusions concerning the Shoshoni to be applied to the Comanche without modification.

APPLICATION OF THE TERMINOLOGY

601 While the structure of the Comanche kinship terminology is such that the number of people covered by it is theoretically infinite, it is obvious that there must be some limit to the size of the groups involved.

In the ascending generations, a limit is set by the terms at the third. Actually, the possibility that anyone old enough to use these words would have a great-grandparent living was fairly small, specially in the pre-settlement days. Furthermore, the Comanche had a tabu on mentioning the name of any relative or close friend who was dead, so that discussion of the family tree was never a pastime, and, in most cases, little children never knew or soon forgot who their great-grandparents were.

Beyond the third descending generation, one "runs out of relatives" also, and may select any terms one wishes to describe great-great-grandchildren and others of this generation. There is thus considerable variation to be found in these distant relationships. One informant started over with younger sibling terms, while another just repeated the designation of "great-grandchild." Naturally, these relationships are only a little more common than those with great-grandparents; they nearly always involve very old people and little children, and are usually not in a direct line of descent, permitting some discrepancy between age and generation.

Thus while there are occasional exceptions, the kinship terminology normally operates over a span of six generations, two above and three below that of the speaker.

Horizontally, however, there is no such limitation either of terminology or, directly at least, of mortality. No other mechanism is consciously recognized, nor is any apparent in a systematic examination of genealogical material. However, as a rough rule of thumb, it may be said that, with surprisingly few exceptions, the line of kinship ceases to be traced when it has passed through two marriage relationships between the speaker and the person under con-

[7] Shimkin (1941).

192 navinain *monte* (*to choose*); po·kA *poker* (*poker* [English]); nanahtaka?nïhW *a pair* [in poker] (*two brothers*); páhinánahtaka?nï· *three of a kind* (*three brothers*); manekIku/rihima·hr *full house* (*five hand* [manekItĭ is an obsolescent word for *five*]).

TIME AND MEASURE. piasïmïhtĭ *thousand* (*big hundred*); cuku?sïmïhtĭ *million* (*old hundred*); navuhiwI *price* (*its money*); ?eka?puhiwI *cent* (*red money*); ?usïkwe·vI *half dollar* (*its half*); *tïmanahke? *yardstick, ruler, gauge, any measuring unit, pattern* (see manakE *measure, imitate*); sïmïrïmanahke? *inch* (*one measuring unit*); sïmïyú·tïmanahke? *inch* (*one common measuring unit*); napetïmanahke? *foot* (*foot measuring unit*); sïmïnáhmAsoma·hr[128] *one yard* (sïmï- *one* + nah- reflexive + ma-, *by hand* + soma-, *fold back* + -(V)hr, verbal suffix); *sokoricï·pĭ *mile* (*one land count*); sïhï?·awotïhpetĭ[129] *a bushel* (*willow cup measure*); naraya·kï? *scales* (na-, reflexive + taya· *to lean* + -kï, causative + -?); sïmïnáraya·kï? *pound* (*one scaled*); sïnïrávekwihne?[130] *hour* (*one clock turn*); pïpekuma?ïrï?ï·nA *degree* [of heat] (*how hot it is*); *mïarïvo·pĭ *calendar, almanac* (*moon paper*); sïmïvúharai *week, one week* (*one Sunday*); *puharavenItĭ[131] *Sunday* (see 4.1); tapúharai/hapïeckU *Monday* (*day after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/

[128] Said to come from measuring cloth from the bolt.

[129] The word for bushel basket, sïhï?a·wO *willow cup* is probably an extension of an old Plateau word for a basketry olla. See Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 241 (University of California, 1941).

[130] There are no words for minute or second.

[131] Terms for the days of the week in many North American Indian languages are similar to Comanche in taking Sunday as a point of reference for naming the other days of the week. See A. I. Hallowell, Temporal Orientation in Western Civilization and in a Preliterate Society, AA 39: 647-670 (1937), especially the sections, "Acculturation of Time-pieces" and "Named Days and the Week."

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[p. 236-B]

192 used in various ball games.]; ?ïtanucI *tipi pegs*; paya·pE *an edible tuber*; puhanahmsuapï *costume for Sun Dance* (*medicine clothes*); puhkuhci? *contrary one* (The Comanche shared the general Plains trait of institutionalized contrary behavior); ta?siwó·? *buffalo* (*feet dragging*) [Used more commonly for buffalo by older Comanche than kuhcU or nïmikuhcU]; taté?cI[135] *spider* (*our brother-in-law*); pïbïre?cI *tarantula* (*hairy brother-in-law* [*spider*]); tamakwasu? *buckskin dress decorated with elk teeth* (*tooth dress*); tïvahpI *pinon nuts*; tikehkwa?I *a hunting party out to secure an immediate supply of meat*; kwahinacu?U *plover* (*back medicine*); kwi?nai *eagle* (Said to be an older word for eagle than piahuhcu?, *big bird*); cihavïhka?I *to be menstruating* (*to become starved*) [Women were supposed to fast while menstruating]; cuhnikorohkO *bone breastplate*; so?me? *tanned buffalo hide*; haivï·yI *helldiver* (probably haic *friend* + pï·yï *duck*. Said to be a sacred bird and a common guardian spirit); hi?o·wihturu?A *windbreak of dead sunflower stalks*;[136] huhkU *collarbone, flute made of a collarbone*; mï· *custom of giving away surplus food*; narohpa? *medicine given one by a supernatural* (na-, reflexive tohpa *dig out* + -?, nominalizer); nacóhkwe? *mesquite* (see cohkwe *to pound*; mesquite beans were pounded into a mush and eaten); namavicó·?ni? *mesquite* (*to*

[171] [183] [841] [262]

[135] This and the following word must be understood with reference to the reciprocal joking relationship between Comanche brothers-in-law. Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73–94, p. 87 (1948), gives *our testicles* and *our smell of dog's urine* as common phases substituted for this relationship term.

[136] Windbreaks are a Shoshone trait, Julian H Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII. Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records 8: 3, p. 272 (University of California. 1943).

[p. 239-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

55 16, Samuel 16, Kenneth 13, Wayne 11, Raymond 10, Harold 9, and Bert 9.[113]

For females the commonest single first names are: Mary 24, Alice 12, Marie 9, Lena, May and Rachel 8, Dorothy, Ida, Mabel and Velma 7, and Bertha, Bessie, Elsie, Lucy, Maude, Pearl and Sarah 6. If both first and second names are included, the order again is changed: Mary 39, Ann 35, Jean 34, Marie 31, May 19, Ruth 15, Alice 15, Dorothy 13, Joyce and Betty 12, Frances and Mae 11, Ida and Barbara 10, Rachel, Lena and Mabel 9, and Lee 8. As middle given names the following are the most frequent: Ann 34, Jean 32, Mae 11, May 10, Marie 19, Joyce 9, Lee and Ruth 8, Frances 7, Jo, Lou and Rose 6, Joy and Lois 5, and June, Kay and Fay 4. It may be noted that there is less variety in middle names than in first names.

Given names derived from Comanche are few in number. For males there are *Gary Mahesuh*, mahisua? *one who thinks of war*; Vernon Tabbytosavit (a middle family name), tavetosavItI *white sun*; Wahnee, wane? *fox*. Hovarithka, huvarihka? *coffee eater*; and Weckeah, wehki? *hunter*, are feminine examples. All told there are about

[113]
[171]

[113] Simon Newton (The World Almanac, 1921, p. 150) sought to determine the most popular American given names by examining 100,000 names in biographical dictionaries, Army and Navy registers, Masonic rosters, and the Detroit City Directory. For comparative purposes the 20 most popular names are listed:

1. John 8280	11. Samuel 1628
2. William 7611	12. Frank 1570
3. James 4259	13. Harry 1112
4. Charles 4253	14. Richard 1027
5. George 4171	15. Francis 1003
6. Thomas 2710	16. Frederick 1000
7. Henry 2366	17. Walter 970
8. Robert 2303	18. David 967
9. Joseph 2266	19. Arthur 904
10. Edward 1997	20. Albert 862

For the Comanche the ten most popular single first names make 15% of the total, including double names 23%, while the ten most frequent American names make 42% of the total. It may also be noted that the order of preference differs.

[p. 249-A]

7: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

121 [863] feces, urine and the genitalia and feelings of disgust are equated, and where there are words used to frighten the child, admonish it, and control its movements. It seems likely that conscious speech training might be correlated with later educational procedures and attitudes towards children. This seems [858] [171] true for the Comanche where the position of children was high as was general on the Plains. It also seems important to know how long baby words are used and, if they are reverted to later in life, under what conditions.[8] The extension of kinship terms, the child's induction into their use, and the varying importance of the different relatives or classes of relatives[9] to the child are all relevant.

[8] Persistence in using baby talk was an important symptom of personality disturbance among Pilaga children where in extreme cases, those of half or full orphans, baby talk persists until the ninth year. In the most severe cases of personality disturbances a pattern of phonetic substitution is rigidly followed through and at times [113] results in serious phonetic distortion. Jules and Zunia Henry, Speech Disturbances in Pilaga Children, Am. Jr. Orthopsychiatry, 10.362-9 (1940).

[113] [9] H. Ian Hogbin, Experiments in Civilisation, London, 1939: Learning-Kinship Terms, pp. 38-42, has made an admirable start in this direction.

[p. 14-B]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

ARTIFACTS

172
[128] The upper case letter preceding each unit can be used to locate that unit in Figure 1.

(A) The body had been placed on part of a black rubber-coated cloth tarpaulin or poncho, possibly of U.S. Army issue. Among the small pieces that remained of the poncho were five circular brass grommets with five-millimeter openings and several pieces of finished edge showing machine stitching.

(B) Of the fifty three brass wire bracelets found, one was in front of the chest, and 52 were in the remnants of a beaded skin bag near the saddle parts at the foot of the grave. Viewed in cross section, two of the bracelets are round and 51 have flattened sides. The bracelets were made from lengths of brass wire, cut with a chisel, most of them with the ends smoothed by filing. Two of the parallel-sided bracelets are decorated with chisel cuts on their top surfaces (Fig. 5*f-g*). The bracelets range in diameter from 1.7 mm. to 2.8 mm., averaging 2.3 mm.

172
171 Bracelets similar in diameter and design were found at the White site (Suhm 1962:94-7 and Fig. 2), a mid-to late-19th century child's grave of assumed Comanche affiliation in Yoakum County, Texas. Similarly decorated brass wire bracelets of a larger diameter were found at the W. H. Watson site (Ray and Jelks 1964:135-7 and Fig. 5) in Fisher County, Texas. The authors reported a crevice burial of a woman in a standing position and interpreted the site as a Comanche grave dating before 1840.

172 (C) Two small fragments of skin from the bag were preserved under the bracelets. Also preserved were two small patches of the beaded design originally made up of at least 1,857 beads. All of the beads are of the simple cylindrical "seed bead" type. Colors present are opaque white, blue, and green; and translucent turquoise, light blue, dark blue, red, and amber. Lengths of the beads range from 1.5 mm. to 2.5 mm., diameters from 2.1 mm. to 3.1 mm. The amber beads are slightly smaller than the other beads, and the light and dark translucent blue beads have thinner walls than the other beads.

[171] A broken shell hair pipe bead, probably *Strombus gigas*, was among the bracelets. This bead, whose broken end had been smoothed, may have been threaded on a drawstring of the bag, as is the case with two hair pipe beads on a Kiowa bag illustrated by Ewers (1957, Plate 29).

(D) While none of the wooden frame or leather covering remained, the nature of the

A [See p. 3 7—Analyst.]

172 metal materials found near the feet of the skeleton leave no doubt that a saddle had been placed in the grave. One stirrup (Fig. 5*a*) is a heart-shaped side-saddle stirrup; the other (Fig. 5*b*) is of a form common to western style saddles; both are iron. Both stirrups have identical roller buckles, 35 mm. by 44 mm., of the form frequently seen on horse trappings. Completing the inventory of saddle parts and decorations are two iron rings 59 mm. in diameter, a round buckle and cinch ring both 91 mm. in diameter, 13 small iron nails, two copper rivets with leather preserved in them (Fig. 5*d*), two iron snaps or buttons, and one copper button face or rosette (Fig. 5*c*). Identical rivets were found at the White site (Suhm 1962:109 and Fig. 6). Rosettes or button faces of similar size and construction were found in the crevice burial of an adult male in Yellowhouse Canyon, Lubbock County, Texas (Newcomb 1955, Plate 25), that included a bridle and saddle bags, and at Fielder Canyon Cave in Val Verde County, Texas (Kirkland 1942:64-5 and Plate 15). Kirkland reported a quantity of trade artifacts strewn in front of the small cave and interpreted the site as a "garment factory." It seems apparent, however, that the site was actually an historic Indian burial that had been looted, which left the artifacts scattered

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172 The remains of the saddle leave two possibilities as to its nature: either the saddle was a single rig western style saddle that had one of the stirrups replaced with a side-saddle stirrup, or it was a native-made saddle that incorporated a number of pieces of white man's hardware. The matched items of hardware -- stirrup buckles, cinch ring and buckle, rings, and the rivets -- seem indicative of a white-made western saddle. Examination of the collections of 19th century Indian photographs at the U. S. Army (Fort Sill) Museum and of the standard sets of Smithsonian Institution prints of Southern Plains tribes showed that almost all saddles pictured were military or western stock types. Of course, the Indians of the area continued to make and use their own saddles during the late-19th century; for example, it is known that in 1868 a Comanche saddle and in 1891 an unspecified number of Kiowa saddles were collected for the National Museum (Ewers 1955:90). During that period, however, Plains Indians often obtained as many saddle parts as they could from the whites (Ewers 1955:94n).

[127]

[439]

(E) Two iron straps 219 mm. and 194 mm.

[p. 321-B]

172 long were lying parallel to one another 60 centimeters east of (upstream from) the skeleton's feet. These straps are badly corroded, and the ends are irregular -- hence their original length is unknown. They are slightly curved in cross section from end to end, are 20 mm. wide, and appear to have been about 1.5 mm. thick. Although their purpose is unknown, they were possibly hoops on a barrel or other circular wooden container; they may have been used in making ornaments. At Fielder Canyon Cave, 172 Kirkland found several fragments of flat hoop 181 iron of approximately the same width as the straps from the Jared site, along with some iron tinklers and trapazoidal ornaments cut from the iron straps (Kirkland 1942:62 and Plate 15). 172 These trapazoidal pieces may be unfinished tinklers.

[p. 322-B]

172 (F) In a near upright position in front (south) of the skeleton was a one-gallon galvanized pail 18 cm. high (Fig. 4). The diameter of the base is 17.5 cm., and the diameter of the mouth is 20.86 cm. The side seam is lapped and folded; the edge of the bottom overlaps the outer surface of the sides and is soldered to them. The attachments for the bail are secured by two iron rivets each. The bail is iron wire 6 mm. in diameter. The lip of the bucket is formed by rolling the top of the sides outward and crimping it over an iron wire; the resultant lip is 5 mm. thick.

The pail seems to predate forms common in the 1880's. In pictures and specimens that I have seen from the 1880's the bail attachment and the bottom are already quite different -- the ends of the bail are looped around a hoop at the top of opposite sides of the pails. The bottoms are inset and the edges are bent around the lower edge of the sides, in the same manner as modern galvanized pails (compare with Fig. 4).

Conclusions: The beads and bracelets have a long history in the Southern Plains. The pail, vulcanized cloth, and stirrups probably date from the latter half of the 19th century. It is not presently possible to assign a more specific date to these items.

ETHNOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

127 *Tribal identification:* Specific information on burial practices of the Southern Plains tribes is [114] rare. Reports by travelers, captives, and soldiers do offer some data; but they are often inconsistent, conflicting, and probably incorrect. Therefore, only those reports that describe interments similar to the situation encountered at the Jared site will be used for comparison.

171 It is well known that tribes in the Plains disposed of their dead in a number of ways.

764 There is nothing in which the Plains Indian varies so much as in the respect paid to the dead, in the care and management of the body, and in greater or less elaboration of the funeral services (Dodge 1882:155).

If the people were busy when a death occurred, the following account might apply:

The body of a chief who dies in other than the winter season is generally deposited in a cave; that of a common warrior in any convenient hole or ravine, a few handsful of earth, or sometimes only grass or leaves, being thrown over them. Women and female chil-

171 764 dren of the common people are thrust out of sight in the most convenient way ... (Dodge 1882:159).

171 114 764 While oversimplifying, Dodge recognized at least some factors that resulted in preferential burial treatment within a tribe. He unfortunately did not identify differences in customs among tribes. Consequently, he gives only little information -- he does not tell us which tribes sometimes placed the bodies of their dead in ravines.

764 171 According to Dr. O. G. Given, physician to the Kiowa and Comanche Agency, burials were made at easily prepared sites in crevices and in the ground (Yarrow 1881:142). Dr. Fordyce Grinnell of the Wichita Agency gives a more detailed account:

> The body is taken due west of the lodge or village of the bereaved, and usually one of the deep washes or heads of canons in which the Comanche country abounds is selected, and the body thrown in, without special reference to position ... The saddle [from the horse used to carry the body to the grave] is also placed in the grave together with many of the personal valuables of the departed. The body is then covered over with sticks and earth, and sometimes stones are placed over the whole (Yarrow 1881:99).

657 101 The Wichita Agency, located at what is now Anadarko, Oklahoma, had jurisdiction over the Wichita, Waco, Caddo, and affiliated tribes. In 1879 the Comanche Agency was consolidated with the Wichita Agency and many of the Comanches came under its jurisdiction, although 764 a subagency remained at Fort Sill. Thus Dr. Grinnell's observations may be of Comanches 171 rather than Wichitas who, as far as is known, buried their dead in cemeteries (Schmitt 1952). 101 The Wichita did live in the area, however; possibly as late as 1850 there was a village one or two miles east of the Jared site (Marcy 1853:72), and they were there again for a few months after Fort Sill was founded in 1869. There is a possibility that some tribe other than the Comanche or Wichita was referred to, for in 1837 when the leader of a raiding party of "Wacos, Caddos, and Keechis" was killed during a battle, some of his followers tied a rope to the body, dragged it away, and left it in a ravine 114 (Wilbarger 1935:193). Details of the disposition of the body are not recorded, and we do not know if the body was abandoned, buried, or simply left until it could be retrieved for burial elsewhere after the battle.

[c. 323-R]

000 elsewhere after the battle.

101 Other tribes were in the area at the time. From the time of Fort Sill's establishment, the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache were all encamped at the fort; the Arapaho and some Cheyenne were nearby and visited the area. In addition, from 1894 to 1913 a number of Apaches were kept at the post as prisoners of war. They were settled in scattered villages on the post until their release; several of these villages were located near The Jared site. It is unlikely that the Jared site is an Apache burial, however, since burials of the Apaches who died at Fort Sill were made in cemeteries rather than in isolated places and the locations of these cemeteries are known. It is also unlikely that the burial is Kiowa-Apache for although Opler and Bittle state that rocky crevices were preferred burial sites they also point out that burials were not placed in situations where they would be subject to exposure by erosion (Opler and Bittle 1961:384).

172 764 171

764 In an anthropological survey of the Comanches (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:150) there is further substantiation of ravine burials: again they are simple graves in the head of a canyon, crevice, or deep wash and contain "... articles of immediate personal usage belonging to the deceased ..." (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:152).

764 171 In the Southern Plains only the Cheyenne vie for comparison with the Comanche as regards the custom of ravine or crevice burials: bodies of some of their dead were placed "... in caves or crevices in the rocks ..." (Grinnell 1962:163). Llewellyn and Hoebel likewise record crevice burials for the Cheyenne (1941:213).

[124] Several Kiowas and Comanches were asked about burials like the Jared site; there was total agreement among all that the Kiowa would not place a body in a ravine or crevice but would bury only in an open area. Both the Kiowas and the Comanches were aware of Comanche burials similar to the Jared site. Dodge, then, apparently was describing a practice with very limited distribution; only the Comanche and Cheyenne are known to have made ravine burials.

172 *Dating:* Since the artifacts from the Jared site have not been satisfactorily dated, I will comment on the history of the area, pointing to factors that may more narrowly delimit the date of interment.

648 175 The Comanches had long been in frequent contact with American, French, and Mexican traders, explorers, and military expeditions be-

[p. 324-A]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

fore Fort Sill was founded in 1869. In fact Catlin, along with Dodge and a regiment of U. S. Dragoons, visited one of their large camps just a few miles from the Jared site in 1834 (Catlin 1841:61ff.). From these explorers and others who passed through their territory, and from their own trading and raiding expeditions, the Comanches received articles of white manufacture.

Fort Sill was established as a base of operations for subduing the Southern Plains Indians, and the U. S. Army made efforts to induce the Indians to settle permanently near the post. This program was achieved in part by giving food, clothing, and supplies to the Indians. By 1875 the Comanches were settled in the area and roamed no more except for a few small raids that continued until 1878.

The first Comanche cemetery was not established until 1889 or 1890 at Fort Sill (Gillett Griswold, personal communication), and with the exception of the post's cemetery where a few Indian Scouts were buried, and several mission cemeteries, this was the first established Comanche burial ground. Other Comanche cemeteries were opened shortly thereafter, and most burials were made in cemeteries after the early 1890's.

The literary and historic records help substantiate the identification of the Jared site as a Comanche burial probably dating after 1869 and before 1890 with the vague possibility of its being a Cheyenne burial. Kiowa and Comanche informants support this conclusion. No other groups in the area have been reported to have buried their dead in the manner noted at the Jared site.

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1841 *The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians.* Published by the Author, at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London.

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1882 *Our Wild Indians: Thirty-three Years' Personal Experience Among the Red Men of the Great West.* A. D. Worthington and Co., Hartford.

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1955 The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture. *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 159. Washington.

[p.324 B]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the Crow division.

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards with clubs.

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers.

When the master of the nā'wapinàr had decided that the time for action had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled, coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred the ceremony called nǐotsāit'. The women brought a buffalo hide and sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned by the master alone and taken up by the rest.[1]

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position. On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified, and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury. Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that the injury had been avenged.

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were

[1] This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

177 agreements with the cattlemen, and in the summer of 1885
427 received their frist grass-lease payments in money.[4]
657

But this system of leasing was likewise unsatisfactory. The Indians did not trust the aggressive cattlemen, and within a few years were convinced that their interest could best be protected by having the Washington government handle leases for them. Early in 1892 they named a delegation to present their case to the authorities in Washington. As a result, the agent was notified to submit one-year lease contracts for approval. Six leases, totaling 250,580 acres, were approved for the year beginning September 1, 1892, and Agent George D. Day reported that by that date he had collected $69,000 in lease money. Agent Day also reported that with the money he had purchased for the Indians more than one hundred new wagons, lumber for fifty new homes, and a "quantity" of livestock.[5]

177 After the Jerome Agreement was signed on October 6,
427 1892, the cattlemen were eager to lease and joined the Indian opposition to the "Boomer" demand to open the reservation.
[435] In 1893 they leased 1,304,958 acres of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation at the government price of six cents an acre.[6]
[426] As a result of poor crops and good grass the next year, the agent proposed to spend the semi-annual payment of grass-lease money for young stocker cattle, but the vigorous opposition of the traders, to whom the Indians were in debt, caused him to abandon the plan, with the advice to the Indians that they purchase cattle on their own initiative.

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[171] [113] [127] 4. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches for a time refused to accept any grass-lease money for fear that it was a scheme to deprive them of additional lands.—Agent J. Lee Hall, Annual Report, 1886, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1886, 131. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were printed each year as official United States government documents, usually as both Senate and House documents. Most reports of Indian agents were included. All annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were examined for this study. Reports and correspondence herein cited but found elsewhere than in the official printed documents will be identified.

[113] 5. Agent George D. Day, Annual Report, September 1, 1892, to June, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29. The Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises the affairs of the Comanches, Kiowas, and the Kiowa-Apaches. In most cases the records make no distinction as to tribe, and it is not always possible to give a breakdown of data on a tribal basis. Consequently, statistical data in this article are for the entire agency except when otherwise noted or clearly obvious.

6. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29; Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 349.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The Indian Service has made no effort to induce wage-earning Indians to accept any particular type of employment. During the depression years the government provided most of the jobs. Public projects in 1935 employed more than four hundred Indians for about two-thirds of the year. Since then, construction of concrete and masonry check dams and stock tanks, the clearing of approximately ten miles of the Elk Creek channel, cotton picking, wood chopping, highway construction, building trades, urban growth, and the military base at Fort Sill have furnished work for all who desired it. The Indian Service gives preference to Indian applicants provided they have equal or satisfactory qualifications. A few Comanches are beginning to take advantage of this opportunity. It also seems worth noting before leaving the subject of wage earners that Indian employers in 1944 paid out $300,000 in wages to other Indians of the agency.[16]

Agriculture provides the third important source of income for the Comanches. Although revenue from it constitutes a relatively small proportion of the total income of all the Indians of the agency, the Comanches are now basicly farmers and stockmen. Statistics are somewhat misleading in this respect because the Comanches are far more progressive than their Kiowa neighbors.

Once the Indians were confined to the reservation, the government set out to furnish seeds and agricultural implements to each Indian during the first three years of his farming efforts. When Colonel W. B. Hazen established Fort Sill early in 1869, he took steps to carry out this provision of the treaty without waiting for the arrival of the new agent. He hired a white farmer to teach the Indians to farm. He had three hundred acres near the fort plowed and planted in corn, melons, beans, and squash. But Hazen made very little headway with his program. His plan to build fences, set orchards, and erect homes and schools had to be postponed because most of the money given him by the army had to be used for food.[17]

16. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
17. W. B. Hazen, Report, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 392.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 721 they would be in no wise dangerous. But how inadequate is an infant, dispersed, and unorganized settlement, to repel the sudden incursions of an enemy who move with unequalled celerity, and almost inscrutable caution: who traverse the pathless wilderness by day, and pounce on their 175 devoted victims in the unguarded hour of midnight. The 648 national faith and friendships of savages are proverbially treacherous, and are always subordinate to their own weak conceptions of interest, or the more imperative suggestions 175 of fear. The hope of spoil for the most part constitutes their *prium mobile* to hostilities: but they are sometimes capable 721 of adventuring the hazards of battle for the single purpose of revenging real or imaginary injuries.

175 101 The Comanchees or I-etans as they are sometimes called, are one among a very few of the primitive nations of Spanish America, who have preserved their pristine independence. To what cause this singularity is attributable, it is difficult {173} to determine. Their oral history is extremely limited and imperfect, and they appear to retain no recollections of a period when their political condition was materially dif- 175 ferent from what it now is. Of their origin they know 173 nothing. A regular tradition or national legend, seems never to have entered into the policy of these erratic sons 175 of the forest. Careless of the future, they are indifferent 181 to the benefits that accrue from the recollections of the past. The revolving day imbodies all their concerns. Their 175 songs, which are few and of little variation, however ancient 533 they may be, are rather didactic than historical, and are calculated to fire the warriors zeal, or to give solemnity to 175 funeral lamentations. It is however, presumable, that their wandering mode of life and the remoteness and seclusion 101 of the country through which they have ranged time imme- 171 morial, have mainly contributed to perpetuate both the identity and the independence of a tribe, whose numbers 721 and capacities for war, are far inferior to others of their proscribed race, that have become almost or quite extinct, by the deleterious spread of a corrupt and unsocial civilization.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

175 [ca. 1818]
721 regress of small parties from 5 to 50 in number, whose sole object is inglorious predation, and who cautiously avoid all renconters with the enemy, except with the menial herdsmen who attend the droves of the wealthy planters.

[171] [181] Although habitually savage and estranged from the humanizing influence of civilization, the Comanchee warriors are not so wantonly barbarous and sanguinary as many of the primitive nations of our continent. It is true, they
175 seldom give quarter to the Spanish soldiers, and it is equally
726 true, that they seldom receive any from them. It has been alleged too, that they massacre women and children. The charge is not true as to general practice, but there may be some isolated exceptions, growing out of pressing emergency
175 or some extraordinary excitement. When reproved on this
721 awful subject, these undisciplined warriors justify their deeds of horror, as more enlightened nations have attempted to justify theirs, by the law of retaliation: and I suspect that a strict investigation would evince but little disparity in the inhumanities that are reciprocally practiced by these savage and semi-savage belligerents.

175 The Comanchees are always at war with the Osages and
721 Pawnees. A formal declaration has perhaps never tran-
648 spired, but whenever they meet, hostilities ensue. Frequent and sometimes sanguinary recontres happen between them,
175 the Osages and Pawnees being in general the aggressors. In
721 the fall of the year these tribes abandon their villages, and lead a wandering life, ostensibly for the purpose of hunting. They often roam as far as the Comanchee region, professedly in quest of Buffalo, but in reality to "spoil the spoiler of his prey," in which they frequently succeed so far as to return well mounted, although they always leave home on foot. The Comanchees sometimes retaliate upon them by carrying the war into their country; but having little to gain by these excursions, they are unfrequent. Simple bootless war, has few attractions for a people who have neither poets nor historians to perpetuate the fame of their achievements.

175 Strong attachment to kindred is a prominent feature in
152

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

The husband may repudiate his wife or wives at any time, and take back his presents. The wife too, for some causes, may rebel against her tyrant lord, and leave off serving him. This course on the part of a Comanche wife, covers the husband with such disgrace that it can only be removed by killing someone—the first person he may happen to meet is made the victim. It nearly always happens that he first meets with his truant wife, or some near friend of hers, first after suffering the great disgrace, and, of course, he proceeds to slay her, or the vicarious relative.

IF THE COMANCHE can be said to live under any government, it may be set down as a radical democracy. The war chiefs are elected, on occasions of war, by the council of warriors. Their authority is only countenanced and their commands obeyed while hostilities continue. In peace, their authority is merely that derived from their wealth and prowess. The Comanches honor courage and skill in war, and the successful warrior is generally made a chief of some band. There is no unity in the tribe. Besides the seven sub-tribes into which they are divided, each of the seven is made up of small parties, each of which has a leader. In many respects the autonomy of the Comanche tribe differs from any other North American Indians. In most respects, the tribal government is very much the same as found among Xicarillo, Mescaleros, and other wandering Apaches, to which family it is claimed they are nearly related. But in two or three important particulars their method or system of government is entirely distinct from and wholly unlike that of any other people.

When a chief or prominent warrior wishes to organize a warlike expedition, he takes his yellow shield, puts on his eagle plumes, smears war-paint over his face, and assuming the weapons borne by warriors, he rides at a furious pace among the lodges, chanting his war-song as he goes. Any warrior who has taken two scalps may thus organize a marauding expedition, and no authority of chiefs or councils can prevent it. If there are warriors willing to join him they immediately mount their ponies, armed and equipped, and follow the warrior, who first declared war. Their chant is united with his, and thus a war party is made up. But it is not often that the entire band declares for war. The promoter of the war may be a simple warrior, without any authority whatever. For that particular expedition he may be chosen chief, or they may select another to lead them. When going against an enemy the commands of the chiefs are generally obeyed with alacrity. In peaceful seasons they have virtually no chief, or rather every venerable warrior among them is a chief, whose

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

657 $91,707.50, for 1856.[45] Probably about one-third of these sums were expended on the Comanches. During the last year preceding the establishment of the reservations the United States had spent $129,820 on the Texas Indians.

000 A sequel to the bitter controversy over the removal of the Indians was the killing of Robert S. Neighbors on the streets of Belknap by a man he scarcely knew, if, indeed he had ever seen him
657 before or knew the man had aught against him. Neighbors had seen the Indians safely located in the Leased District in Indian Territory, had turned them over to their agent there, and was returning
000 home to make his final report to the Indian Office. He stopped at Belknap on matters of business and was killed as he was preparing to proceed on his way to his home in San Antonio.[46]

657 Perhaps in their zeal to protect their wards from the wrath of the white people Neighbors and his associates were blind to the faults of the savages but their courage and devotion to duty in protecting the Indians against what they regarded as the prejudice and avarice of the white men is one of the finest examples of public service to be found in the annals of the American frontier. They were confronted with great odds with their former friends and neighbors aligned against them. At times they had to fight almost single handed, but they stood at their post and were never lacking in either physical or moral courage.

Thus ended the Texas reservation experiment. It may well be doubted that even without the hostile attitude of the white frontiersmen the Comanche reservation could have been made succeseful. Many of the Southern Comanches never did live on the reserve and
657 of those who came there large numbers refused to remain. The ex-
171 perience of the agents was prophetic of the difficulties the Federal Government was destined to have two decades later when the plan was tried for all the nomadic tribes of the plains under circumstances far more favorable. As long as vast stretches of uninhabited prairies and herds of fat deer, antelope and buffaloes invited them

45. Clara Lena Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy In Texas," in the Quarterly, XXIX, 118.

[113] 46. Leeper to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 15, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 701. On their return from Indian Territory, Neighbors and Leeper, who were traveling together, were attacked by wild Indians and Leeper was seriously wounded.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

657 the savages were loathe to accept the monotonous life of farming on
171 the reservation. The old and decrepit might gladly stay but the spirited young warriors would hie away taking with them when they could their families and friends. But the record made by these reservation Comanches proved that the nomadic tribes were amenable to progress and the equals intellectually of their more sedate kinsmen of the progressive agricultural tribes.

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THE JOURNAL OF
AMERICAN FOLK-LORE
VOL. XXII. — JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1909. — No. LXXXV

SHOSHONE AND COMANCHE TALES

COLLECTED BY H. H. ST. CLAIR, 2D; EDITED BY R. H. LOWIE

THE following tales were recorded by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, among the Wind River Shoshone of Wyoming and the Comanche, and are edited on the basis of his interlinear renderings. As a collection of Shoshone myths from Lemhi, Idaho, has been published recently,[1] Wind River duplicates are given only in abstracts referring to points of difference.

The most noteworthy feature of the new Shoshone myths is the occurrence of certain widespread motives not obtained from the Lemhi Indians. Foremost among these is the marriage of two girls to stars. Very significant details connect the Wind River version with that of the Blackfoot. In both cases, the girls, after having wished for star-husbands, are delayed by the loss of their baggage; in both the star-child disappears on the infraction of a taboo, and becomes a star. The eye-juggler motive is naturally joined to a story, shared by the Lemhi and Comanche, of blind Coyote's adventures; a similar sequel occurs in the Blackfoot variant. The magic flight turns up in an ogre tale not related to the published Dzō'avits myths, which has also absorbed the crane-leg bridge motive of the Lemhi Bear and Deer story. Unfortunately, the cosmogonic fragments do not elucidate the relation of Ā'pö ("Our Father") to Wolf and Coyote, with whom the Lemhi occasionally identify him, while at other times he appears as a distinct character. In the colorless account of the Deluge, birds are sent out for land, but the diving for earth is not explicitly mentioned. The belief that the crow turned black in consequence of having devoured the drowned Indians is common to the Wind River and Lemhi people, though among the latter it was voiced only in conversation with the writer, and not in connection with the tale.

The Comanche myths are far too few in number to permit a thoroughgoing comparison with Shoshone folk-lore. The eye-juggler motive

[1] Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone" (*Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii, part ii, pp. 236–302).

[p. 265]

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C W 539 171 C 539 171 W [539 171]

occurs in the same combination as in the Wind River version; the union of these two elements seems to be peculiar to these Shoshonean groups. In one myth, the widely diffused story of the hoodwinked dancers precedes Coyote's defeat in a handicap race as told at Lemhi. "The Deserted Children" joins a familiar Prairie tale with an ogre story. Coyote's humiliation of a white fellow-trickster is exactly paralleled in Lemhi mythology. The account of the liberation of hoarded buffalo for the benefit of mankind has rather close homologues among the Blackfoot, Arapaho, and Gros Ventre. In an interesting composite myth, both the regulation of the seasons and the origin of death are accounted for. The first part is a somewhat more elaborate parallel of published Lemhi and Wind River narratives. As in Blackfoot mythology, the mortality of man is determined by the sinking of a rock.

1. THE BUNGLING HOST[1]

(Shoshone Story)

W 539 [171]

(The animals visited are Beaver, Owl, and Elk. The only noteworthy peculiarity of this version, as compared with that from Lemhi, is the resuscitation of Beaver's children when their bones are thrown into the water.)

2. PORCUPINE AND COYOTE[2]

(Shoshone Story)

(One of Coyote's children takes the place of Coyote's excrement as his guardian.)

3. COYOTE'S FLIGHT

(Shoshone Story)

Coyote was walking along. He saw a bear digging. Coyote looked at him through the grass. "You bob-tailed bear!" he cried. The bear charged on him, but Coyote ran off. Then he cried, "You crop-eared bear!" The bear ran towards him. Coyote said, "You are a bear, you cannot catch me." The bear pursued him. When he was close to him, Coyote cried, "You cannot run through the brush," and took to the brush; but the bear followed him through the brush. When he was close to the fugitive, Coyote cried, "You are a bear, you cannot swim." He jumped into the water. The bear followed in; Coyote got to the other side, and ran on. "You are a bear, you cannot run on the prairie." But again the bear was gaining on him. Coyote got to a buffalo. "O brother-in-law! the bear is after me." — "Well, stand behind me!" The bear caught up to them. The buffalo advanced, hooked and killed him. Thus he saved Coyote.

Coyote walked on. He met a stranger. The man told him, "Over there on that hill there is a bad rock. If any one takes any of the pile of beads

[1] Lowie, *l. c.* p. 265. [2] *Ibid.* p. 267.

27: St. Clair & Lowie U,E-4,5 (no date) 1909
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18. THE SEVEN STARS[1]

(Comanche Story)

539 A very long time ago there lived a family of seven. The parents got angry at their children, four of whom were boys, and the youngest a girl. The father declared to them, "We are going to call a council of all the people. You cannot stay here. We are going to have a council to decide what all of you are to become. I am angry at you. All of you will go far off. Make up your minds as to what you wish to become." Then the oldest brother asked the other children to give their advice as to what they were to become. One of them said, "Our father is angry at us. Let us all become stars. Would that all of us might become stars! Whatever we choose, that we shall turn into. Let us wait for our father, and tell him as soon as he returns." When their father returned, he consented to let them become stars. Then they left. That is how they became stars. That is why there are seven stars looking down upon us from above. The one in the rear is the youngest child, while the young men are in front.

[171]

[1] In a more elaborate Assiniboine tale, a group of brothers debate what they are to turn into, and ultimately become stars.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

175 "The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is
701 by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull,
175 and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:

701 The Comanche had five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the
726 dances prior to getting up a war-party.

535 In another place he adds:

> The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift-Fox,-all-war dances and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack . . . . ."[11]

175 It is perhaps significant that the bands number five, since five,
801 as is well known, is the pattern number of some of the Basin
171 Shoshoneans.

554 With regard to the "f" shaped figures in the reproduction here,
701 it has been suggested[12] to the writer that possibly these are crooked
171 lances which are badges of office common to the various military
[175] societies found among the Plains Indians generally.[13] Hooked lances as noted by Lowie were among the Comanche typical elements in their military societies:

> A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance.[14]

554
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171 In the case of the Wind River Shoshoni, the hooked sticks, Lowie learned, were used to catch fleeing enemies:

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[113] [11] R. H. Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 11: 809.

[12] The suggestion is Dr. Spier's.

[113] [13] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, (Comanche), 811; (Kiowa), 847 f; (Cheyenne) Kit Fox Society, 896. J. R. Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., v. 11 (Pawnee; Two Lance Society, 561; Red Lance Society, 567; Thunderbird Lance, 570; Crow Lance, 571; Brave Raven Society, 574; Fighting Lance, 576; Wolf Lance, 576; Blackhead Lance, 576; Knife Lance, 578). A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Bull., 18: 159, 1904.

[14] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 809–811.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
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According to one informant the chief (any chief) long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick . . . . with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy and pull him from his horse.[15] 171

Kroeber, describing an Arapaho ceremonial organization of five degrees, also notes the presence of hooked sticks. In the ceremony he states all the participants carry lances; the two dancers of the second degree hooked ones; the dancers of the third degree straight lances.[16] The excellent plate of an Arapaho warrior with a hooked lance shown in Kroeber's *The Arapaho* reveals a detail that may be significant here. It will be noted in that plate that the turned down tip is held in position by a string or cord tied to the perpendicular part of the lance itself.[17] The Spanish copyist of the original Comanche report intended to indicate, possibly, a similar connection by the straight line drawn across the perpendicular of the "f" shaped figure, which gives those figures in the present reproduction their distinctive "f" character. 175

It is significant to note here, also, that the straight lances are indicated with point downward.[18] (See pl. 17.) This was the common method of carrying both straight and hooked lances. These lances were commonly thrust into the ground by the bearer, who must fight beside them no matter what the outcome until his standard was plucked out by one of his fellows and he was thereby released. The "f" shaped figures, placed at intervals in the line are also suggestive inasmuch as it was characteristic of Indian leaders to take position, not in front of their fellows, but within the line, which incidentally was a skirmish line.[19]

The lance was not only a standard carried in battle but was likewise a characteristic sign of office carried by the leaders.[20] The [701] [554] [113]

[15] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Anthr. Pap., 20: 283, 1924.

[16] A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Bull. 18: 159.

[17] Kroeber, The Arapaho, facing p. 175.

[18] The photographic reproduction here of the figure holding two lances, points downward, is from the original inscribed on a ledge of rocks eleven miles east and six miles north of Kenton, Oklahoma, in what is known as North Canyon. This was in general Comanche territory. The writer is indebted to Mr. W. C. Baker and Mr. C. A. Esmay, photographer, of Boise City, Oklahoma, for the photograph. [128]

[19] Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 569, 578.

[20] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 847, 896; Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 560.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

Spaniards' guess in the *Note*, accordingly, that the "I" figures represent individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction, was at least half right.

It is perhaps significant that of the number of leaders' lances shown here there are only two kinds, for it is usual in the Plains societies to have only two ranks or degrees of leaders. Further, the limited number of each kind shown suggest that they are emblems of rank. But as to the question whether leaders of the first rank among the Comanche would carry straight lances, those of the second rank hooked ones, there seems to be no certain answer. It is quite possible that this is the meaning of the straight and hooked lances in their positions here. Both types of lances were in general use throughout the Plains. But it cannot be determined that the straight lance is consistently that of a first rank leader and the hooked lance that of a second rank leader. However, this is a distinct possibility among the Comanche. Both types occur as first and second rank emblems among the Plains tribes; the order, and in fact their use or non-use, is quite variable.

TARJA[21]

Tally Sheet (*Tarja*) which Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza sent in blank on the 19th of May, 1786, to the Comanche Captain General Ecueracapa so that there might be indicated on it by means of lines and signs the chiefs who might set out on the campaign, in the expedition under his command, against the Apaches, the number of men which each detachment may be composed, and the successes that might be achieved. (See pl. 18.)

Explanation of the lines and signs, according to what Oxamagues, son of the above-mentioned captain, gave to the Governor by word of mouth:

A Chief Quetaniaveni, with his lance by his side, commanding the reconnaissance party of thirty-one men;
a five horses he encountered and recaptured
B CaptainGeneral Ecueracapa with his sword[22]

[21] As indicated in footnote 1 above the original of this Tally Sheet is in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. A copy of this Tally Sheet, the Informe of Ortiz, the Noticia, and the document here entitled Fourth Enclosure, are the four enclosures accompanying the Relacion. See footnotes 3, 4, and 7 above.

[22] The Spanish word given here, *sable*, for sword, technically signifying a weapon in Spanish military orders, appears to indicate the New Mexican Spaniards' recognition of the formal organization of the Comanche in military societies. So far as the writer knows no description of Comanche tribal life written by Spaniards has been

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

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C and detachment of one hundred and fourteen men
D Apache whom he killed by his own hand
E two wounds which he received
F[33] Two other Apache killed in the battle
G two prisoners
H Forty horses and twenty she-mules which he took from them
K Chief Salambipu with his lance and detachment of eighty-eight men
L Two dead Apache[34]
I twenty riding beasts recaptured[35]
M Six wounded Comanche,[36] one of whom died
N Chief Encajive with his lance and party of fifty men
o A dead Apache
P a wounded Comanche
Q Chief Piaquegipe with his lance commanding sixty-four men, whose party, farthest west, produced no result, as it was seen by the enemy.

NOTE

Neither the report of the Governor nor the explanation which Oxamaguea gave him explained this sign f. It is believed that it indicates the individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction.

NOTICIA

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Information (Noticia) concerning the Comanche chiefs present in the Villa of Santa Fé and Pueblo of Pecos in the year of 86 until the 14th of July, to treat for the purpose of adjusting the peace celebrated with Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza with a statement of the number of tents, which each one has under his command, in which there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children.

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found. It is not impossible, in fact it is quite likely, that such an account exists in Spanish archives. On the use of *sable*, see *Diccionario de la Langua Castellana extracto del Diccionario Enciclopedico* compuesto por E. Zerolo, M. de Toro y Gomez, E. Isaza. The example given by the authors there is: "Usaran de las espadas o *sables* los oficiales. (Orden Mil.)." [113]

[33] The Spanish copyist wrote a sequence of EF for two F's, as may be seen in the copy of this Tally Sheet accompanying the Relacion (see footnote 4 above).

[34] Garrick Mallery, Picture Writing of the American Indians, illustration opposite page 574, shows dead Sioux on their heads, whereas these are shown here heads up in D, F, L, and o. Prisoners, on the other hand, are indicated with heads down in G. [171]

[35] The reproduction here has the familiar horseshoes marks in H, I, by which horses are commonly indicated in Plains pictographic art. Inasmuch as horses and mules are definitely indicated in H, the animals indicated in I, referred to as *cavallerias*, and drawn much smaller, might be donkey pack animals. The word *cavallerias* (eighteenth century Spanish for *caballerias*) means riding beasts, though the word in eighteenth century documents is frequently used to refer to the whole horse herd. [171]

[36] The wounded Comanche are indicated by what appears to be broken lances.

/page 41 continued/

Peyotists express the difference between Peyote and Christianity by the phrase "Christianity is too difficult". This in spite of the similar ethics, the rigors of the Peyote meeting and the rigors of the older quests for power. What I think is involved here is 1) a fundamental difference in world view concerning the nature of man and his relation to the supernatural world and 2) the natural difficulty for a people to give up old ways and take on new ones, especially those new ways demanded by missionaries which frequently did not jibe with their own Christian teachings.

According to my informants, Peyote has no concept of sin. That is, in spite of the fact that a Peyotist should not drink, murder, or whatever, he is not destroyed or cut off from Peyote if he does so. The ethics are felt to be good, if a man does not follow them he will incur the ill will of his neighbors and if he persists in his ways, will probably be an unhappy man. But he is neither condemned to hell nor is he denied the benefits of Peyote. Social sanctions there may be but no divine punishments. He is not cast out of the fold as it were. This is much different than Christianity with its supernaturally ordained edicts, the breaking of which precipitates both human and supernatural punisment which may even be irrevocable condemnation. The Christian sees man as being forever at the mercy of a higher being to whom he must pray for forgiveness, he is forever at a disadvantage. The Comanche feels that man is a small creature who must be borne up by the supernatural and who may suffer known consequences if he disregards specific directives in regard to the preservation of power, etc., but he is never an abject being who, by a human slip may lose his very humanity. It is considered (by older Peyotists) very difficult to give up this view of the self in return for the Christian view.

31: Jones E-5. (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

175 178 624 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes which arose among the younger men.

175 178 224 [789] [621] [222] With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin characteristics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 178 [847] [727] [562] [593] [304] The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone culture, came into practice.

175 178 771 [776] [775] [778] [795] [754] [578] [721] [796] Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted, as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture. Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 171 [621] [579] 796 291 [342] The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

72 [24] By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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115 malevolent spirits of the dead and the Medicine of the potential eagle doctor.
159 Kardiner's (1945:93) observation that, among the Comanche, "Medicine" is
756 merely a euphemism for "courage" is pertinent, for the ghost's major weapon
775 against the neophyte doctor is fear. It is interesting that although the behavior
[171] engaged in during these four days and nights of solitude is similar to the general pattern of Plains vision questing, Sanapia conceives of this time as merely a final test and not a time when a supernatural patron could have possibly appeared to her and granted her certain supernatural prerogatives. The apparition of her patron, the eagle, would come later in her career as a doctor. In the beginning of her doctoring career, the powers which she possessed came strictly from a personal power transmission from her mother and uncle to her. Sanapia feels that visitations from either the eagle, or at times from the spirits of her mother and uncle, are gifts granted her as a reward for her faith and conscientious endeavors as a doctor.

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Power Transmission

115 The first stage in the actual power transmission from the mother was
159 concerned with instilling power into Sanapia's mouth and hands, the areas of
756 the body where an eagle doctor's powers are most strongly represented. The rituals
[824] involved with this first phase of transmission are very similar to the blessing ceremony, at least in the introductory stages. Sanapia's brother was told by the mother to lay a fire of pecan wood. After the wood burned to coals, the brother
[823] brought the coals to a secluded place where Sanapia and her mother waited. The mother sat facing east, and Sanapia was instructed to sit facing her, while the mound of coals burned between them. Sanapia was cedared[1] and fanned by her
[533] mother with the standard blessings of long life and good health. This blessing also included the mother's singing of her Medicine song, an action which serves
115 to call the *puhakut*'s power sources to his service. The mother, using her bare
159 hand, then plucked a live coal from the mound of embers and handed it to Sanapia.
756 At first, Sanapia reports, she balked at placing the burning coal in her hand, but at
787 her mother's insistence she took it and was amazed that it did not burn her. She was then instructed to rub the coal over her hands. Once again the similarity in the concepts of "Medicine" and "courage" appear. Today, Sanapia interprets the handling of live coals as an act of faith in the doctor, a necessary first step in testing the potential doctor's resolve.

> I was sure scared then . . . almost got up and ran away. I was only a young girl at that time, you know. But, when I took them coals on my hand, inside and outside my hand I felt a chill, maybe. Oh, it was like chills in my hands. That has the meaning that power was in there . . . working in my hands. Felt like it would go up my arm even.

[1] The dried leaves of the red cedar are sprinkled on live coals, and the rising smoke is wafted over the person who is being blessed.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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115 159 756 778 age, was tired of her profession and its rigors. She felt, perhaps, that she could excuse her inactivity in doctoring to the fact that her daughter possessed her powers. In other words, the mother's behavior could possibly have been based on circumstance, though Sanapia now interprets it as a law to be observed in transmission of power from a donor to a recipient. Sanapia is also in agreement that this type of rule does not make good sense. However, she explains that she does not understand many things which she does in her capacity as doctor. It is enough for Sanapia that her mother and uncle told her to keep the Medicine way, so she attempts to keep it, even if she does not understand certain aspects of the role she inherited. A practical aspect of what Sanapia considers one of the more senseless of her rules of behavior concerns the method she must follow in choosing a successor. As a woman, her first choice of successor would be her favorite daughter. However, at this point if she gave her Medicine to her daughter and then ceased doctoring herself, as she feels she must, it would be approximately twenty years before the Comanches would again have an eagle doctor in their midst, that is, until after the daughter passes menopause. During this time the special prerogatives of her Medicine way could probably be taken over by peyotism, as she has seen occur among the neighboring Kiowa. It is significant that she does consider herself in competition with peyote doctors.

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> Those Kiowa got this old man that doctors with peyote but he don't get people with twisted-face well . . . sometimes he don't get anybody well. That's what I heard. I even got some of those peoples that go to him . . . they come to me later on and I fix them up. Peyote is good but some things can't get well with it. I can do things that they can't do because I got that power. People learn that and then I see them . . . come to me. Us Comanches got two brothers that doctor with peyote too. That's all they use. There's a young man down at Walters but nobody pay him any attention. He just says he got power but I want to know where he got it from. Nobody knows that so . . . well, he's just a young man.

Dreams and Visions

115 159 756 787 [828] Shortly after Sanapia began her doctoring career, she had her first "real dream." She distinguishes between ordinary dreams, which she considers generally unimportant, and real dreams, to which she attributes enough importance that she will be motivated to certain kinds of behavior by them. The first dream experience occurred after she appealed to the eagle, while doctoring, to supply her with a special Medicine feather.

> This man, something like a man, came to where I was sleeping way in the night. He stood there and then held his hand to me. I just watch him, you know. I wasn't scared or nothing. Then he move his arm toward north and all at once I saw his arm go away from him. And next morning I said, "You all know what, I'm sure lonesome to see my uncle. He's up north around Geary. Let's go see him, if you all want to." Here we pack up and beat it down

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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someone must pour a ladle of water over each of his hands four times. The one who pours the water over the hands of the one contaminated and who aids in the cedaring may be any person present except, of course, a small child or a menstruating woman.

Sanapia forbids children near her medicines because she feels that such close proximity could make a child sick, cause him bad luck, or possibly kill him. She is not quite sure why the medicine could hurt a child, but she is sure about another aspect of the danger which her medicines present to children. Her special and unique power is ghost Medicine. She feels that ghosts therefore hate her and are constantly attempting to harm her and those close to her. This means that they are very likely near her most of the time, especially when she is working her Medicine against them or the results of their activity. Though they cannot harm her or adults who have courage to resist them, they can harm children, who are naturally weaker than adults in courage and Medicine.

With respect to her aversion to the presence of menstruating women while she is doctoring or when her medicines are open, she can offer no specific rationale except that these were the instructions she received from her mother. The only possible explanation which she felt she could offer is that loss of blood means weakness, and weakness makes an individual more susceptible to illness caused by supernatural or natural means.

Wallace and Hoebel (1952:158) write that among the Comanche all medicine had to be protected against contamination by grease as well as the presence of menstruating women. It is interesting that Sanapia is not concerned about the possible ill effects of grease near her medicines. In fact, when directly questioned about her reaction if her medicines actually came in contact with grease, she replied that she would simply wipe it off.

Nonbotanical Medicines

Approximately half of the contents of Sanapia's medicine kit is composed of medicines of a nonbotanical nature.

Crow Feathers

Four tail feathers from a crow are tied at their base to form a loose bundle and are hung near the door of a house as a protective amulet against ghosts. Sanapia states that the power in the crow feathers is intrinsic to the feathers and does not depend on her handling of them to give them this capacity. She always utilizes this amulet when she doctors because of her belief that ghosts are especially numerous when she begins to make Medicine against them. This amulet, therefore, aids her to dispel ghosts and acts to protect the house and its occupants from the evil designs of the angered ghosts.

Sanapia could offer no explanation as to why the ghost should fear these feathers. A Kiowa informant, who uses crow feathers in much the same manner as Sanapia, explained that ghosts sometimes appear at night as owls. The crow and the owl are natural enemies. By using crow feathers in this manner, one is en-

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

listing the crow's aid against the owls or ghosts. Sanapia, however, does not share her Kiowa and Apache neighbor's aversion to owls. 778 237 775

You know, these Apaches sure are crazy. They get scared of them owls . . . they might hear them holler or something. It ain't nothing but a funny bird. A bird can't hurt nobody and they think it's a ghost. 171 [825]

Glass Slivers

Slivers of glass, usually obtained from broken beer bottles, are used by Sanapia whenever a certain treatment calls for the making of incisions in the flesh. This operation is almost always immediately succeeded by the use of the sucking horn or by suction applied by mouth. 756 755 757

Several examples will adequately explain the function of these slivers of brown glass. For both a severe headache and extreme vertigo the same procedure is followed. Minute cuts are made at either temple, in the middle of the forehead, and immediately below the hairline at the nape of the neck. These incisions are approximately one-sixteenth of an inch in length and penetrate only deep enough to produce a blood flow. The sucking horn is applied after all the cuts have been made, and sucking is continued from point to point around the head until both Sanapia and the patient are satisfied with the results.

Sanapia believes that "bad blood," or "foamy stuff," causing pressure in the head area is the cause of both conditions. To relieve the symptoms, the blood, or foamy stuff, must be removed. The same notion of pain caused by the pressure of expanding foamy stuff stimulates the use of the cutting operation in the treatment of swollen joints, which Sanapia calls "rheumatism" in the absence of evidence indicating breaks or sprains. [753]

Sanapia specifies the use of only brown glass in an attempt to imitate her mother. The mother utilized what, from Sanapia's description, appear to have been brown flintlike slivers as cutting tools in doctoring. Sanapia does not know how to obtain "cutting rocks" so she employs brown glass as a close approximation.

Sucking Horn

Sanapia's sucking horn is a 4-inch section of the horn casing of a variety of domestic cattle found in her vicinity. The 4-inch section is cut from the point or extremity of the horn. This piece of horn is usually drilled and scoured to develop a clear opening from the tip of the segment of horn, which will be used as the mouthpiece, to the termination of the horn or area of widest diameter, which will be the point of application when the horn is employed in doctoring. [237]

This item is used when the treatment calls for Sanapia to attempt to suck sickness from the body of her patient. She recalls that when she was young, the sucking horn was used very little by the Comanche doctors which she had the opportunity to observe. If the treatment called for suction, the doctor employed his mouth. Sanapia believes that it was with the advent of the white man and his teaching that many diseases are spread and caught via the mouth that Comanche doctors began to depend more on the sucking horn in an effort to keep their mouth from contact with the patient. [177]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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[142]
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[516]

Sanapia preparing medicine.

but since Sanapia almost exclusively uses only the root of the plant for medicine, this concern with flowing water seems ubiquitous on medicine-plant-collecting trips.

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[171]

Her dosages of the various botanical medicines follow the mystical number four found in the southern Plains area. The medicinal decoctions and infusions which she prepares are always given in units of four—four cupsful, four spoonsful, and so forth. Her externally applied medicines, such as salves and liniments, are administered with four movements of the hand; and when dried cedar leaves are employed to produce medicine smoke, they are deposited on the live coals in the course of four consecutive abbreviated motions of the hand.

128

In the following discussions, a standardized introductory line will be used for each plant when possible. The Comanche term for the plant will be presented first, followed by Sanapia's translation of the Comanche term. The English translation of the Comanche term will be followed by the binomial classification of the plant, which in turn will be followed by the English common name.

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824
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ekapokowa:pi

"red berry cedar" *Juniperus pinchotii* (red cedar; juniper)

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

775 a person . . . see how it is for it to scare me, but I didn't feel nothing. Nothing didn't scare me at all.

Sanapia feels that ghosts are probably the spirits of deceased persons who led evil lives and who are therefore doomed to wander the earth forever. Good people, according to Sanapia, probably go to the Christian heaven. She is not quite sure. Ghosts tend to remain near people and things which were familiar to them when they were alive. However, no particular correspondence between ghosts and certain deceased relatives exists. Ghosts are generally described as being "jealous hearted." They are jealous of the living.

Sometimes you be sleeping. They comes around and they just put something . . . dirt on your face. Or the whirlwind, they say that it is a ghost. It goes around and . . . supposing you be out there by yourself and here comes a whirlwind [753] and just pass you like that. It don't often do that to anybody . . . just once in awhile it do that to somebody, and it twist their face. When I see them whirlwinds coming to me I say, "You go that way. Leave me alone," and it does it because I got that power. Or else sometimes people get scared when they laying in bed at night and one of those people of the family dies and the Indians say they get jealous of the one that are living in that house . . . either their sister or their son or their aunt or anything like that. They get jealous because they living and he died. And they the ones that come bother you like that. Sometimes they come in and you hear them just walking. They open the door and come in and come to your bed and they jerk your covers off or either just pull [753] your hair like that or hold your hand. That's when they do that to you . . . twist your face.

Sanapia is not consistent in her statements concerning belief in the existence of ghosts. She feels certain of the existence of some kind of malevolent spirit which causes ill effects to those human to which it appears, but she is not sure [171] that these ghosts are actually the spirits of men who were once alive. The Cheyenne, for example, felt that ghosts were derived from the dead but that they were not related to a specific dead individual (Hoebel 1960:86). Perhaps Sanapia's relations in Cheyenne-Arapaho culture have caused her to be ambivalent on point. At one time she will state that ghosts are the spirits of the deceased who while alive led evil lives, and at other times she will make statements such as the following:

Some of them would hear noises in the dark and think they see things . . . ghosts. That's what they think. I just think its their imagination . . . that's what. Because when anybody dead, they're gone. They ain't going to come back. How can they?

Ghost Sickness

775 The particular horror of the ghost is his ability to deform his victims,
753 usually by causing contortions of the facial muscles and in some instances paralysis of hands and arms. This condition is called "ghost sickness," or "twisted face," by

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Sanapía. The Comanche name for ghost sickness is *bedeyai*, which Sanapia translates as "ghost done it." She describes the condition in this manner: 775 753

You seen them, I guess. Their face get all twisted up on one way, and their eyes might get twisted up on the left side and their mouth would twist around too. Their eyes run all the time and they can't hardly see. You can see the gums in their mouth and the teeth. They get to slobbering so bad that they got to hold a rag over their mouth. Sometimes their hands get bent up and their arms get turned around and they be shaking sometimes. Oh! they stink when they get it, just like dead persons. I'll tell you, when you doctor someone with twisted face, its the most nasty thing you could do. You have to put your mouth right on it. 775 753 169

Usually, the ghosts do their harm to individuals whom they find outside and alone at night. The following is an example, from a Comanche informant, of a very standardized account of ghost contact. This tale, with only slight variations, was also collected from Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache informants. 775 753 [171]

We was up around Fletcher picking pecans one afternoon. It started getting late, but we didn't notice because we were having a good time. And the sun went down, so I told that bunch I was with that I was going. I started to walk to my pick-up parked up on the highway. And so I was walking. It was then that I heard something around me. Some sound like somebody walking behind me in the grass. The hair about to stand up on my head, because I knew what it was right then. So I start running. I run, and run, and run. After a time I turn my head to see if I loose it and, bang, it hit me right on this side of my face. It was right behind me every minute I was running. I fell down hard when it happened and seems like I went to sleep or something. When I woke up, it was still dark and my face was chilled-like, you know, it was dead feeling. So I got home after a while and my wife gave a holler when she see me with my face all screwed up like that. I guess it look pretty bad alright. Didn't hurt. It just look bad. We got it fixed up later. Indian doctor fix it up pretty good for me.

A key point to these tales of the appearance of the ghosts and the subsequent contortion of the face of the individual contacted lies in the emotion of fear. In every tale of this nature, the ghost victim states the fear he felt at the sight or sound of the ghost. I also collected several accounts in which the individual contacted by the ghost describes how he managed to control his fear at the appearance of the ghost and thus avoided the ghost contortions. Sanapia is very explicit on this point. She states that the only defense against the ghost is courage. 775 753 152

You might be walking along, out there someplace, and you hear some sound moving along behind you. If you going to turn around, you got to turn all around, turn your whole body around, and look right at it. See what it is. But if you just turn your head, take a peek, that's when they twist your face. Turn all the way around and look at it and say, "What do you want? Come here, let me see you," or "Go away. You're dead." Say that to it and it's gone. That's the way they do. You got to stand up to that ghost. You got to show it you ain't afraid of it. If you don't, they got you, and they twist you up right now.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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The hands become stiff, with rigid fingers. The thumb is markedly adducted and partially covered by the stiff fingers, which are usually bent only at their metacarpophalangeal joints. The palm of the hand is hollowed, while the wrist and elbow are flexed. 775 164

It is significant that Sanapia's methods of doctoring ghost sickness follow the treatment by white doctors for Bell's palsy and hyperventilation. Her rationale for her method of treatment is not similar, but the actual results of the behavior which she initiates are. She applies her mouth to the patient's face in an attempt to suck the illness from the individual. She also applies liquid medicines to the face area and draws her Medicine feather over the skin in the afflicted area. This could constitute the "gentle massage," "kneading of the cheek muscles," and "gentle friction" prescribed by Kunkel (1950:1493–1494) and Goodall-Copestake (1926:225) for treatment of Bell's palsy. When Sanapia turns her attention to treating the contorted hands, her method, in general, follows that which Dr. Neely states that he utilizes to relieve the symptoms of hyperventilation. She drapes a towel or piece of cloth over the patient's face and directs him to inhale the pungent smoke produced by smoldering medicines. During this phase of treatment she croons to the patient and gently reassures him that his condition will be cured. Neely stresses that the calm reassurance of the patient suffering from hyperventilation was a necessary part of the treatment. He also temporarily places a bag or some sort of facial covering over the patient's mouth and nose to impede the invidiual's intake of oxygen and force the recirculation of carbon dioxide. He also notes that smelling salts or ammonia can be used to further decrease the patient's attempts at excessively deep and rapid breathing. 775 164 171 755

A Psychogenic Hypothesis

In an attempt to discover an organic or static description of ghost sickness it was found that the types of disorders which most thoroughly describe ghost sickness are all highly suspect as to their being more organic than more functional in nature. The particular reasons why this hypothesis was suggested prior to the discussion of Bell's palsy and hyperventilation were based on the noted similarity in age, sex, and general personality type of the ghost victims and the fact that though the rules for ghost avoidance are extremely simple and obvious, certain individuals still apparently voluntarily violate these rules with full knowledge of the predicted consequences. The discussion of Bell's palsy and hyperventilation added further evidence for the role of psychological phenomenon, for example, the emotion of fear, desire for avoidance, shock, emotional strain, pressure, and the therapeutic value of reassurance in the treatment of hyperventilation. 775 164

Two concepts of psychosomatic medicine must be mentioned and their utility evaluated before proceeding further. These concepts are "conversion reaction" and "vegetative neurosis." A conversion symptom is a symbolic expression of a well-defined emotional content, while a vegetative neurosis is the physiological

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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883 177 [291] ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 191 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 [122] I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 871 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also conceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 871 177 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 264 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 [342] Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on platforms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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This was the first time I had heard this woman say more than a single word of English at a time. When she had bought coffee from me, she had asked for "*to-o-pac.*" (I believe the Comanches have three names for coffee, but this one, meaning "black water," is the only one I remember.) And she had gone through her whole grocery list the same way. It had been "*pina*" for "sugar four bits," "*hocoon*" for "matches five cents," "*mo-be-po-dra*" for "dry salt meat six bits." Or maybe she would point to canned corn and ask, "*Heepet?*" or "How much?" She had always asked for one article at a time, and paid for it before asking for the next item. Though she had been educated at Carlisle, she had consistently played the part of an uneducated blanket squaw.

Even living as close to the Comanches as I did, I never heard any of them mention the experiences of the children who were sent away to school—say in the late 1870s, when Charley Ross must have gone. This was another of the things I remember having failed to ask him. Then by chance I heard a Pueblo woman speak out on the subject.

She appeared to be about fifty, and she ran a small souvenir shop in the Taos Pueblo. She dressed as a white woman shopkeeper might have dressed, and her hair was tastefully arranged. She used excellent English, and a lady in our sightseeing party, curious about her appearance and her fine command of the language, asked, "Did you attend a white school?"

This is the Indian woman's answer, as nearly word for word as I can give it. "Fifty years ago this fall—I was about five or six years old—a great number of white men came to this Pueblo one day. We didn't know what these men wanted, nor who they were. Some wore badges of the United States marshals, and we were to learn others were from the Indian schools. There were some Indian police, but not of our people.

"They didn't speak to anyone. They told no one why they had come. Suddenly a large number of them began to make a house-to-house search, and the rest stayed on guard in the Plaza. As they went through the houses, they seized every child from about five up to fourteen or fifteen. Screaming and crying, we children were dragged one by one out into the middle of the plaza. They herded us there as though we were a bunch of wild cattle. No one knew what was wrong—neither we children nor our parents.

"We were all screaming and crying hysterically. I had seen white

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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657 men but had never spoken to one. I had a great fear of them. They
871 kept us in a circle, with our parents on the outside, and we couldn't
171 run to them for comfort. As I sobbed and cried, I became aware that someone was talking to me—calling me by name—talking loud in our tongue.

"I began looking around, and it was my grandfather. He was a very old man, and he stood back away from the circle of white men and didn't look toward us children. He didn't want the white men to know he was talking to one of us, and neither our white guards nor the Indian ones knew our tribal language.

"He talked loud, so I would hear him above the screaming and crying of the other children. 'Daughter, the white man is all-powerfull' he shouted. 'There is nothing we can do to help you. They are going to take you away and put you in school. They won't really harm you. They want to teach you the white man's way. Should you run away, they will catch you, bring you back, and punish you.

" 'There is a way you can defeat the white man. Learn everything well he tries to teach you. Learn everything about the white man's way. Learn to speak his language. Then you will have defeated the white man. You will be as wise as he in the white man's way; and he won't like it because you will know also the Indian's way.'

"I stopped my sobbing. I stood as straight as my old, old grandfather, and I did as he told me. I learned to speak the white man's language without accent, and I have had a better education than most white people. I mastered every course they offered me. I was always properly behaved and they treated me well. I was able to help many Indian children adjust to the white man's school. But never have I forgiven the white man for the brutal way they rounded up us children and separated us from our parents.

"They had not let our parents know they were coming for us. Had our parents known, they said they would have taken us to the mountains, where no one would ever find us."

657 Similar roundups must have taken place among the Comanches in
871 the early Reservation period—the late seventies, the early eighties, maybe into the nineties. They could even have used the army. It was handy, there at Fort Sill. It was Indian Bureau policy—an unfortunate policy forced upon a people with thousands of generations of freedom and independence behind them.

In my time there were older brothers and sisters who had traveled

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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the stampeding buffalo without stepping into a grass-covered badger or prairie-dog hole.

It was his medicine that enabled him to crawl into a cavalry bivouac and sever the eight-foot rope that each soldier had tied to his wrist, so his horse might graze safely during the night, and without waking the sleeper or his comrades lead the horse away.

It was his medicine that caused his wives to be friendly and congenial, one with the other. It resulted in the wives' caring for his camp, looking after his surplus horses, and bearing mostly boy babies. For none of these things did he take credit personally. But he was justly proud of his medicine that had brought all these things about, and he guarded it like a jealous lover.

To sum up the attributes of a name-giver: he needed a keen ear and an extensive knowledge of the vocabulary—perhaps a sense of humor helped—and he must have a successful reputation as a warrior-hunter and a willingness to share his medicine. Custom required him to give each individual named a supply of his medicine. Warriors often refused to give a name because it meant parting with a portion of their medicine. They feared the remainder might prove inadequate. Apparently the true name-giver's supply had a similarity to the oil in the cruse and the meal in the barrel of the widow at Zarepath, while she fed the fugitive Elijah. It was replenished as used.

My reading indicates that the Comanche placed more emphasis or dependence on the name than did any of the other Plains tribes. A warrior might carry a number of names, should he live a long and successful life. In the event a boy developed into a sickly youngster, or was accident-prone, his parents were apt to seek out one reputed to have even stronger medicine than the one who gave him the first name and ask for another name. Directly after puberty when a youth went alone to fast and pray for a vision, should his vision have particular significance, he would be given a name in keeping with the vision. But no Comanche dared name himself.

After his acceptance as a warrior, should he develop outstanding characteristics in methods, strategy, or bravery, he might be given yet another name, descriptive of his accomplishments. For example, there was the Mexican captive Mo-cho-rook, about whom I tell in another chapter. Raised and trained as a Comanche warrior, he was given this name because "he so cruel, he makes Comanche blood run cold." He became a legend while yet he lived.

 profusely with brass tacks in four bands near the base end, and two crosses spaced at equal distances of the length of the horn.

Comanche War Whistle Figure 27

Berlandier mentions the Comanche war leader's use of a whistle to blow commands to his followers while in action against the enemy.[10] One of these whistles, collected by Berlandier, is pictured in Figure 27. It is made from the ulna of an eagle and is 19.5 cm. in length. Open at both ends and with a triangular finger stop cut in one side, the whistle is provided with a cord of twisted rawhide for suspension from the leader's neck. While among the Comanche in 1883, shortly after the intertribal wars ended, Ten Kate was told of the former use of an eagle bone whistle to sound signals in battle.[11] George Bird Grinnell describes the Cheyenne use of a bone war whistle.[12] This was not an instrument peculiar to the Comanche.

Karankawa War Club Figure 28

A war club of the Karankawa Indians of the Gulf Coast is made from a single piece of ironwood (Ostrya sp.). The burl forms a head 10 cm. in diameter, and the projecting branch provides a handle 36 cm. in length. Although this club weighs but one pound, ironwood is an exceptionally hard and strong material. This must have made an effective weapon in close combat. The Indian who made this weapon must have shown considerable ingenuity in recognizing the potentiality of this abnormal tree growth as a war club. It is improbable that ironwood burls were typical Karankawa weapons, because they were uncommon in nature.

This club was obtained by John Varden, proprietor of the Washington Museum in the District of Columbia, while he was in New Orleans on a collecting trip in 1838. He recorded the specimen as a "War club of the Crank-a-War Indians of Texas" from a "George W. Chambers." Although Berlandier did not collect this piece, it is contemporaneous with the specimens in his collection. It may be the only war club that has been preserved from the Karankawa, whom Berlandier met in 1829, less than three decades before that tribe became extinct.

Comanche Painted Rawhide Case Plate 18

Women were the painters of geometric designs on parfleches and other rawhide cases among the Plains Indians. A fine example of Comanche women's painting on rawhide appears in Plate 18. This case is made from a single piece of rawhide folded twice to form the front, back, and triangular top flap of the case. When folded the case is nearly square—26 cm. high by 28 cm. wide. The case is laced tightly together at the sides with long narrow strips of rawhide, which also provide decorative fringes, some as long as 48 cm. This form of case was well known among the Blackfoot and neighboring tribes of the Upper Missouri as early as the 1830s and was used to hold sacred objects. The painted designs in green, red, and black on the front of

10. Page 71.
11. Ten Kate, 1885, p. 7.
12. Grinnell, 1962, vol. 1, p. 204.

See p. 180-B--Analyst.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 178]

178 this Comanche case resemble, however, the geometric painted designs of the Cheyenne more closely than those of the Upper Missouri tribes.[13]

Comanche Beaded Pouch Plate 19

Berlandier termed a beaded pouch of unusual shape in his collection a Comanche "game bag." It appears as Plate 19.[A] William Bollaert, however, pictured a pouch of nearly identical size and shape among the articles taken from the Comanche who attacked Corpus Christi in June 1844. (See Figure 18, upper left.)[B] Perhaps this pouch served for holding medicines or valuable war equipment. The soft skin pouch is 29 cm. wide at the top, and each of the two finger-like projections provides a pocket 25 cm. deep. A series of buckskin tiestrings serves both to hold together the front and back pieces of skin forming the pouch and to provide a decorative fringe. Virtually the entire front of the case is decorated with beadwork in the large or "pony bead" size. The border and two equal-armed crosses are in white, the background in blue beads. The edge of the top flap is decorated with fringe. The beads on this flap are applied in the lazy stitch in three bands: the lower and upper bands are of white and blue "pony beads" while the center band is of the much smaller "seed beads" in white and red.

We know that Spanish officials presented beads to the Indians of Texas during the 18th century and that Dr. Sibley reported Comanche fondness for blue beads in 1807, but this may be one of the earliest examples of Comanche beadwork that has been preserved.[14]

Feathered Headdress Figure 29

A very handsome headdress of a Comanche man is pictured in Figure 29. In form and construction it differs markedly from the more familiar feathered bonnet with beaded browband worn by the Comanche and Indians of many other tribes on dress occasions within the Reservation Period—the headdress that has become the widely recognized symbol of the North American Indian.

This headdress has two major parts, a cap and a trailer of feathers. The cap is fashioned of two pieces of soft-dressed skin of equal size, one forming each side, sewn together with sinew along the vertical midline of the back. It is made to cover the sides, back, and top of the wearer's head but does not extend as far forward as his brow. The lower borders extend to points at the front of each side. The upper part of the cap is covered with red trade cloth, and this, in turn, is decorated with a band of beadwork passing over the top

13. Wissler (1910, pp. 77–78) pictures a side-fringed rawhide case from the Blackfoot and mentions similar cases from the Sarsi, Gros Ventres, Arapaho, and tribes of the Northwestern Plateau in the collections of the American Museum of Natural History.

14. On May 20, 1770, De Mézières requested "two arrobas of beads, white, blue and red" for presents to the chiefs of the Comanche and neighboring tribes, and in 1779 listed 54 pounds of glass beads received for the same purpose. (Bolton, 1914, vol. 2, pp. 201–02, 244.) Dr. Sibley found that the Comanche in 1807 were indifferent to many articles of trade desired by other tribes: "Blue & Red Stroud, Vermilion, Blankets, Blue Beads & knives, are almost the only Articles they Seem Anxious to obtain." (Sibley, 1922, p. 81.)

A [See p. 180-C--Analyst.]
B [See p. 169--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 180]

180 of the head at the front. The designs are long, interlocking triangles of the larger size embroidering beads, sometimes referred to as "pony beads," sewn to the base in a lazy stitch. The triangles pointing forward are of sky blue and those directed backward of white beads. Toward the back of the cap a band of clipped turkey vulture feathers extends over the top, behind which are sewn short narrow strips of rabbit skin. Much longer strips of rabbit skin, each tied to the lower edge of the red cloth, serve as dangling pendants from each side of the cap.

The trailer consists of 43 secondary wing feathers of the immature golden eagle. The uppermost six feathers are tied to the back of the cap. Each feather is secured in place by passing it through a hole in a strip of rawhide (2 cm. wide), looping the basal end of the feather around a buckskin cord, and wrapping it with sinew. The slotted rawhide strip through which the feathers pass serves as a spacer to keep the feathers an equal distance apart.

In view of the known relationship between the Comanche and Shoshoni, it is of interest to find similar caps worn by Shoshoni Indians pictured in Alfred Jacob Miller's drawings and paintings based upon his visit to the fur traders' rendezvous in Wyoming during the summer of 1837.[15]

Although a Comanche warrior may have worn this feathered headdress in battle, there is no reason to believe it was more or less typical of Comanche war headgear than several other types. The headdress of the famous Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), was described as early as 1768 as "a green horn on his forehead, fixed in a headdress, or on a tanned leather head piece."[16] A two-horned bonnet captured from the Comanche who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 is depicted in Figure 18. A Lino Sánchez y Tapia's watercolor of Comanche warriors (Plate 3)[B] shows both a horned buffalo hide cap and a bonnet of upright plumes. David G. Burnet, who knew the Comanche in 1819, wrote of them, "The head-dress is as various as their fancies can suggest and their means supply. Parrow-a-fifty's parade head-dress was a cap made of the scalp of a buffalo bull, with the horns attached in proper position. . . . They sometimes load their heads with feathers, arranged in lofty plumes, or dangling in the air in pensile confusion, or wove into an immense hood."[17] It is apparent that individual preference was reflected in the variety of Comanche headgear worn prior to 1850.

Feather Ornaments Figures 30-31

A circular ornament composed of 57 clipped turkey vulture feathers, carefully strung on a thin buckskin cord by doubling the end of each feather around the cord and tieing it securely with sinew, is shown in Figure 30.

15. Ross, 1951, pp. 34, 127, 199.
16. Thomas, 1940, p. 167.
17. Burnet (1851, p. 133) and Wallace and Hoebel (1952, pp. 82-83) claim that the well-known "war bonnet" of the Plains Indians (presumably the brow-banded type) was not common among the Comanche before the 1870s.

A [See p. 169--Analyst.]
B [Plate 3 has not been processed for the Files--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 181]

291

FIGURE 32. Pair of Comanche hard-soled moccasins. (USNM 1471.)

171

FIGURE 33. Pair of soft-soled moccasins of Caddoan type. (USNM 1466.)

[p. 181]

184 Two longer, complete feathers from a smaller bird are tied to the cord in a similar fashion. Probably this ornament was worn by a Comanche man at the back of the head, with the two longer feathers in an upright position, either as a war medicine or as a dance ornament. The circular ring is 17 cm. in outer diameter; the longest of the two complete feathers is 19 cm. in length.

Another Comanche feather ornament is composed of clipped turkey vulture feathers tied in line to a buckskin cord. (see Figure 31.) The length of this feathered band must originally have been 54 cm., although some feathers toward one end are now fragmentary. There are two buckskin tiestrings at one end, and one at the other. The length of this ornament suggests that it may have been worn as a headband or a neckband.

Comanche Moccasins Figure 32

Although moccasins are probably the most common objects in Plains Indian collections, the pair illustrated in Figure 32 is especially noteworthy as probably the earliest documented example of Comanche footgear, and one of the earliest examples of the hard-soled moccasin from the Great Plains. Each moccasin consists of two pieces, a rawhide hard sole sewn to a soft-skin upper. The upper is a single piece of skin so cut as to furnish the narrow tongue and upturned ankle flap as well as the foot covering. The maximum sole length is 27 cm., and the highest portion of the ankle flap, measuring along the vertical seam at the back, is 10 cm. Each moccasin also has a buckskin tiestring which passes through holes in the upper just forward of the ankle opening, one at each side and one at the center of the back.

Caddoan (?) Moccasins Figure 33

Berlandier does not claim that the moccasins illustrated in Figure 33 are of Comanche origin. They differ basically from the moccasins in Figure 32, each being formed of a single piece of soft dressed skin which provides the sole and covering for the foot as well as the relatively high-topped ankle flaps. These moccasins have no tongues. They are sewn in only two places, up the center back of the heel, and along the midline of the instep from toes to ankle opening, the front portion gathered and puckered over the toes. Each moccasin is 23 cm. long on the bottom of the foot and 17 cm. high at the vertical heel seam. Soft-soled moccasins of this general type had a wide distribution among the Woodland Indian tribes. Dr. Edward Palmer collected a pair of moccasins of this pattern among the Caddo in 1868.[18] The Berlandier specimen may also be of Caddoan origin.

Comanche Horsehide Pouch Figure 34

A Comanche pouch of undetermined use was ingeniously fashioned from the neck and mane of a horse. The mane serves as a decorative pendant to a pouch, roughly 12 cm. square, formed by sewing portions of two sides of the neck together at the sides with sinew. The pouch was carried by a rawhide cord of uneven width, which passed over the user's shoulder and was sewn to the top of each side of the pouch.

18. See Swanton, 1942, plate 13 (top).

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

188 y Tapia's watercolor of the Comanche man and woman.[19] Variants of this loose-fitting, poncho-like upper garment appear in Lino's watercolors of several neighboring tribes—the Lipan Apache, Tawakoni, Karankawa, and Cocos, although the Caddoan and Karankawan versions appear to be of more abbreviated form.[20] A

Earlier descriptions of this type of garment in the literature suggest that it formed a part of the aboriginal costume of the women of the Southern Plains. In 1541 the Coronado expedition found the Teya women wearing "something like a sanbenitos with a fringe, which reached halfway down the thigh over the petticoat." They also found the Indian women of Sonora wearing petticoats (or skirts) of "tanned deerskin and little sanbenitos reaching half way down the body."[21] Onate noted in 1601 that in hot weather the Indian women on the plains near the Arkansas were clothed only "from the waist down."[22] Numerous references to painting and tattooing of the breasts and upper bodies by Tonkawan and Caddoan women also suggest that the poncho-like upper garment must have been commonly dispensed with in warm weather.

Nevertheless, among the Comanche this old style of skirt and poncho-like upper evolved into a skirt and blouse, laced together at the waist with buckskin thongs, before the beginning of the Reservation Period, and our earlier style is not even mentioned in Wallace and Hoebel's monographic study of the Comanche.[23] The specimen in the Berlandier Collection may be the only extant example of this earlier Comanche woman's garment.

Collar for Pet Antelope Figure 38

A collar for a pet antelope is illustrated in Figure 38. It is composed of a backing of red trade cloth to which is sewn with thread (not sinew) a strip of cloth 21 cm. long by 1.5 cm. wide, to which are sewn 62 rolled metal cones on short, individual buckskin cords. These cones made a jingling sound as they struck against each other whenever the antelope moved.

Skin Dressing Tool Figure 39

Berlandier's handwritten label, still attached to this specimen, reads in translation: "Instrument with which the Comanche Indians dress large buffalo hides." This piece (Figure 39) is a section of elk horn 27 cm. in length, which formed the handle of a woman's skin-dressing tool. The blade of chipped stone or iron, is missing. It was fitted against the flattened inner surface of the downward-projecting head of the elk horn handle and held in place by a lashing of rawhide. Generally the lashing was applied wet, so that

19. See Plate 2.

20. See Plates 1, 13, 15, and 16.

21. Winship, 1896, pp. 507, 517. In a footnote to p. 507 the editor explains that a "sanbenito" is "a broad piece of cloth hanging before and behind" with a hole for the wearer's head.

22. Bolton, 1916, p. 258.

23. Wallace and Hoebel (1952, p. 85) describe only the later skirt and blouse in their account of Comanche women's clothing. Their field work among the Comanche was begun, however, in the 1930s. It is doubtful that even their oldest informant was born before Berlandier collected the garment described above.

A [Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors have not been reproduced for the Files--Analyst.]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

412 it would shrink as it dried and bind the blade securely to the handle. In 189
284 using this tool to remove the hair or to chip the inner surface of a buffalo
412 hide to an even thickness, the woman stood on the hide, bent over, and, with
281 the sharp blade nearly perpendicular to the surface of the hide, performed
her painstaking task with vigorous strokes, holding the tool with both hands.
412 Elk horn-handled skin-scraping tools of this kind were widely used among
(171) the Plains Indians, as well as the Shoshoni and their neighbors west of the
Rockies, in historic buffalo days.[24] This may be, however, the earliest well-
documented example of this useful tool from the Comanche.

24. Wissler (1910, pp. 67–68) pictures four of these adze-like tools equipped with blades and gives the tribal distribution of this type of skin-dressing implement.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
Comanche NO6

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[*] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way ... like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

[*] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR3
Washo NT20
Comanche N06

| Element | Occurrence | | |

P4:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6 ●
Delaware NM7
C
D
● 171
495
1946
534
676

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																									
	LIT	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	S-B	Del	Del	Wic	N-C	C-I	C-I	SHO	Ute	Ute	Ute	Tew	K-P	K-P	Tew						
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
36. Pottery jar	+		−	−		−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−																			
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
43. Star significant	+	+	+			(+)					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−						
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
55. Usually by cedarman	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−	(+)				−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−					+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−						

Comanche N06 ●
Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																				
	Tem	Mi-t	Mo	Ute	Ban	Kai	Ute	Ind	Ind	Mo	Mo	Cr	Cr	Cr	Was	Ute	Mo	Kio	Ute	Pyr	Ute
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual		−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	•(+)
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*65. Decorated with white lines		−	−	−		(−)		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
69. Form cross	+	+	(+)	+			+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		+	+		(+)	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
78. 3 assistants	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
79. 4 or more assistants		−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	−	+	−	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(Continued on next page)

C
D
171
1945
1946
[2x]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche ND6 ●
Crow N Q40
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
G
Cr
D
W
● 171
P45
P96
[783]
P778

| Element | Occurrence | | |

Comanche ND6 ●
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP2

Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism 109[A]

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche ND6 ●
Delaware NM7
C
E
111
PAS
PAL
[538]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																				
	LUT	E-A	Kio	Comm	Kio	Ab 8	Del	Del 2	Wis	N-N	Cr 1	Cr 2	SHS	Dia	Com	W-P	Tew				
151. 4 times	+		+	–		+				–	+	+	–	+		+					
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+				
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
154. Sings fixed opening song	+		+			+	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
161. Rule against women singing	+	–	+	+		(+)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+				
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+		+	+	–	+		+	+				
167. 4 sticks added							–			(+)	(+)	(+)	–	+		+	+				
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+		+	+				
171. 4 times	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+		+	+				
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	+	–			+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
174. By women		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				

Element	Occurrence																								
	LT1	K-A	Kio	Cam	Kio	Ar 3	Do 1	Do 2	Wis	Ok	Cr 1	Cr 2	Wi 3	Dia	Gos	W-P	Tam
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	++
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	•(+)	−	+	+	+	+	
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+•	•(+)	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	•+	−	−	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	++
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	−	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+		−	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	•−	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	•+	•+	+	•+	−	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(Concluded on next page)

C
D
171
245
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Comanche N06 ●
Winnebago N12
C W ● 1171 SAS 796 [647]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																								
	13 T.	E-A	Ko	Com	Ka	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Wa	NC	Cr 1	Cr 2	Ha	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tom								
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+								
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–								
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+								
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		–		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+								
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–								
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	–	+	–	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+								
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+								
222. Wash before eating			–	–	–	–		•+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+								
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
224. Before eating	+		+	–		+		•+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	–	–	+		•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	–	+	•+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+	+		+					+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	?	+	+			–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door				+	+	+			–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+	+	+		•–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+								
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•+																	
236. Sun greeted	+		•–	–	(–)																				
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	–	–	(–)	+	+		+															
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•–	•+	+	–	+																			

Element	Occurrences																				
	13 T	K-h	Kio	Com	Kio	Ab II	Do 1	Do 2	Wis	No O	Cr 1	Cr 2	WES	Uta	Gos	W-F	Tex				
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+				
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+				
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+				
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	+	+	+	+	+				
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+				
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+												
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+				+	+								
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+								
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+								
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+								
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−								
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+								
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+									
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+											
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+													
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+												
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+												
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	−	+													
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−		+	+												
265a. (See note)																					

C W 121 ● 245 246 [271] [547] [276]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Winnebago NP12

C
W
171
795
796

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celluloid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

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Comanche NO6 ●
Winnebago NP12

27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a.

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔg"eβi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

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Comanche NO6 ●
Delaware NM7

C
D
● 171
795
796

64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 50, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

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160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab 8: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab 8: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab 8.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223-225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251-265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154-58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damé apé (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form ni'mé apé (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kic: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

Program: Native American Church

GUD

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting it of 5 finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

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Ojibwa NG6
Dhegiha NQ12
Iroquois NM9

APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote-cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	359	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33-35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1936.

(Concluded on next page)

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TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	38
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 26, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1936.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	753 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			85 Active	160 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8